A

True and Faithful RELATION OF THE SUFFERINGS

Of the REVEREND and LEARNED,

Mr. ALEXANDER SHIELDS,

MINISTER of the GOSPEL.

Written with his own Hand.

Containing an Account of his Examinations and Imprisonment at LONDON; His being sent down to SCOTLAND; His Examinations before the Privy Council, Justiciary, Lords of the Articles, &c. His Disputations with the Bishops, and others: With large and pertinent Observations and Reflections upon all the Material Passages of these Trials, Examinations and Disputations.

Together With

A large and Elaborate Defence of the Doctrine of RESISTANCE, or Defensive Arms, of the Apologetical Declaration, and other Heads of Suffering: As likewise a clear and full Confutation of the Oath of Abjuration.

Never before Published.

Psalm LXII. 4. *They only consult to cast him down from his Excellency; They delight in Lies: They bless with their Mouth, but they curse inwardly.* Selah. *Hostis callidus, tarda ad Mortem Supplicia conquirens, Animas cupiebat Christianorum jugulare, non Corpora.* Hieronymus in Decium Imperat.

Printed in the Year MDCCXV.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER,

CHRISTIAN READER,

BEing to Publiſh the enſuing Narration *of the Sufferings of the Reverend and Learned Mr.* ALEXANDER SHIELDS, *I thought fit to uſher it into the World with a ſhort* Preface; *rather becauſe it is accounted unfaſhionable for a Book to appear without a* Preface, *than that there was need to ſay any thing to recommend it to the* Reader's *Peruſal. The Author's Name being a ſufficient Recommendation thereof, to all that knew him. He being one, whoſe Uncommon Vertues, eſpecially his Fervent Zeal, unfeigned Piety, and Singular Learning, were of ſuch a ſhining Luſtre, as rendered him deſervedly Beloved of all the Real Friends of the Covenanted Reformation of the Church of* Scotland; *drew upon him the Malice and Rage of its Enemies, and the Envy of the more lukewarm and Indifferent in that Cauſe. One, whoſe Memory is ſtill ſo Fragrant and Savoury, in the Minds of the Godly, that I cannot doubt, but upon that ſingle Account, this* Relation *of his Sufferings, given by himſelf, will find a kind and ready Acceptance in the World.*

For me to undertake a Panegyrick upon the Reverend and Worthy Author, ſo much eſteem'd, Honoured and Beloved of all Good Men, for his Extraordinary, Chriſtian and Miniſterial Enduements, would be but to light a faint Taper to the Meridian Sun; for neither am I fit for the Task, (not to be Confined to the narrow Limits of a Preface, but rather deſerving a Volume) nor does the Author's Memory need it, tho' never ſo well and largely performed. All I ſhall do then, ſhall be only, and that very briefly too, to glance at the Excellency *and* Uſefulneſs *of the* Matter, *contained in the enſuing* Relation, *which is the main thing Recommends a Book.*

Here, one will find much variety of Delightful and Profitable Matter: An affecting Relation of ſeveral Important Paſſages, containing an Account of many ſharp and ſevere Sufferings, Trials, Perils by Sea and Land, Bonds, Impriſonments, Reproaches, and Menacing Threatenings, of the utmoſt Severities, and of Death it ſelf; all born with much Chriſtian Meekneſs and invincible Patience. A wonderful Contexture of Divine Providence, in many ſignal and ſurprizing Events, contrary to the Malicious Deſigns of the Perſecuters, to the Deſires and Expectations of Friends, and to the Forecaſtings and Projections of the Sufferer *himſelf; many confirming Inſtances of the LORD's Care over, and Goodneſs towards him in his ſoreſt Conflicts, delivering him from the Jaws of Death, and out of the Mouths of theſe Lions, when ready to be ſwallowed up; in aſſiſting him with Wiſdom to confound his Enemies,* ſo that they were not able to reſiſt the Wiſdom and Spirit by which he ſpake, *and in making good that Promiſe,* of giving to his Confeſſors and Witneſſes in that Hour, what they ſhould ſpeak.

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Moreover, it ought to be considered, That Mr. Shields *his Trial, was more than an Ordinary one; for the Enemies knowing him to be a Man of more than Ordinary Elevation, and deservedly esteemed for his rare Qualities, set themselves the more, by all possible Stratagems of Insinuations, Flatteries, Menaces and Threatenings, to intangle him in their Snares, that they might rub the more Dishonour upon the Cause he suffered for, by the fainting of so Noble a Champion, as they could not but observe him to be; dealing with him, as* David *complains his Enemies did by him,* they only consult to cast him down from his Excellency, *&c.* Psal. 62. 4. *Or as one concerning the Heathens,* Veritatem cupiunt per Confessorum latera jugulare. *And truly, who so seriously considereth the* High-Parts, *Mr.* Shields *had in himself, and the* High-Esteem *others had of him, will conclude his* Fall *necessary for his* Humiliation. *And O! that all of us were this Day as heartily taking with our Sins and Backslidings, Personal and National, and giving as real Demonstrations of an unfeigned Sorrow for them, in their several Aggravations, as this Godly and Zealous Author does herein for his!*

This Tract *was written by Mr.* Shields *his own Hand (as every one who looks*

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May the Good LORD, who honoured and Enabled this his Servant, *to bear so Noble a Testimony to these Truths, in the midst of such hazards, Bless this* Relation *thereof, to beget and continue a Savory Impression of the same, upon the Hearts of all that fear Him, and have a regard to his Glory, and the Flourishing of the Reformed Religion in the Church of* Scotland.

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AN

IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

OF

All Passages relating to my Sufferings, Trials and Examinations, from the Beginning of my Imprisonment.

IT may seem impertinent for me, to put Pen to Paper upon such a Subject; to make any Record, or give any Representation of my own Afflictions, which have been so mean and insignificant, that they are not worth the mentioning, and so mixed with Blots and Blemishes of Faintings and Follies, not only unsuitable, but dishonourable to the Excellency of the Cause, that my Afflictions have been stated upon, that it may be challenged, as a nauseating Officiousness, to blur Paper thereupon; And the Passages have been so many and various, and my *Examinations, Conferences, Trials*, so prolix and tedious, and that after the Intervention of so long Time since they were past, that to offer an accurate Account of them, might incur either the Censure, or Suspicion of Prevarication or Disingenuity; especially from a Man of my Imperfections, known to be rude and unready in *Extemporary Answers*, and of a Memory not so exact and tenacious of Passages, as such an Account would import and require: But considering, the Intent of this Relation, is not to make it publick (which could not be interpreted a being my own Herauld, to captate Applause, but rather a blockish blurring of my own Blots) but only as a *Memorandum* for my self, and an *Information* to my Intimates, concerned to know what hath past in the Tract of my Trials, that they may sympathise with me, and comfort me by their Approbation of what is Right,

and

and by their tender Reſtorings with the Spirit of Meekneſs, from what Faintings and Follies, and unfaithful Feebleneſs, have been diſcovered in them. And ſeing they have been in part acquainted with many of theſe little Tranſactions, in Parcels, by the Minuts I drew of all occurring Paſſages, immediatly after their falling out; I thought it would not be altogether ungrateful to them, as it would be very uſeful for me, to put them together in one Piece, that they might be ſeen with one Proſpect. Wherein, however unpleaſant it may be, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, ſo much of impartial Ingenuity, as that the Relation of theſe Paſſages ſhall appear to be rather an humble and open-hearted Confeſſion, than any ſtudied Apology. For to juſtifie all Things that have eſcaped me, I cannot, and to palliate them I will not. The true and genuine Repreſentation of Matters of Fact, is that which I aim at.

The Day of my firſt Apprehenſion, and beginning of this ſad Tentation, was upon the 11*th* of *January* this preſent Year 1685, where being in *London*, at a Meeting for the Worſhip of God; I was taken with many others, by the *City Marſhal*. That Morning, I remember, as I was coming over *Tower-hil*, toward the Houſe where our Meeting was appointed, I had a ſtrong Impreſſion, with irreſiſtable Violence ſuggeſted to me, which I endeavoured to check and divert, as an idle vain Thought, but I could not, to wit, That I ſhould be a Priſoner that Day; and further, that every Step I was going was a Motion and Progreſs to another Period, than as yet hath come to paſs; However within two Hours thereafter, I was a Priſoner. I do not mention this, as a thing to be much laid Weight on; But only I cannot but reflect on it, as a Warning to me of what followed; of which I have had ſeverals very ſignificant and remarkable to me, ſince I was engaged into this Lot. I was taken very ſurpriſingly, and without our Fear, or Expectation of any ſuch thing: For that Day we had more Caution than ordinary, which made us more ſecure; having two Men abroad, to watch and attend the Motion of the Guards of Souldiers in ſeveral Places of the City; one of which obſerving a Party of them moving, came running to acquaint us, but before he could come to the Door of the Houſe, where we were met, he found the Marſhal with two Men knocking at it, and ſo durſt not approach nearer. The Marſhal having had Intelligence of our Meeting, either by his own Obſervation, or the treacherous and invidious Information of Neighbours, ſubtilly did knock at the Door as a Friend; and the Maſter of the Houſe taking him for one of our Watches, opened to him; who forthwith came ruſhing up Stairs, with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and his Men at his Back, crying [illegible] commanding in the King's Name, That we ſhould render our ſelves Priſoners. I was ſtanding upon the

the Stairs in the Entry into two Chambers, declaring upon *Gen.* 49. 21. *Naphtali is a Hind let loose, he giveth goodly Words*, &c. On which I was led to speak on the Excellency of the Blessing of *Liberty*, the Extent of *Christian Liberty*, the Preferableness of *Spiritual Liberty* beyond temporal Freedom: A Subject that I was very unfit to speak on; and therefore the LORD saw it good to interrupt me, and send me to School to learn it better since; I was a great Mis-improver of Liberty, when I had it; and therefore since, I have been made to prize it more by the Want of it, and to understand, by some Experience, the Excellency of that more lovely *Liberty of the Spirit*.

But to return, I being the first Man in the way of the Marshal's Violent Irruption, and thinking my self most concerned to answer; gave a Reply to this Effect: *What King do you mean, by whose Authority you disturb the Peaceable Ordinances of CHRIST? Sir, you dishonour your King, in making him an Enemy to the Worship of GOD!* At which Words the Ruffian laid hands on me, and violently thrust me in among the People, telling me, *He had other Business than to stand up prating with me!* We were very stupidly infatuate and deficient in our Duty, that we did not make a Break, and run him Down-stairs, as we were in a Capacity to do it against three Men, and as I moved it to the People: But the Demur was, that we thought there was surely a Party of the Guards down-stairs waiting to assist him. Thus were we kept Prisoners by three Men, being in Number about sixty Men and Women; who for the most part (as I was often laying it home to them as a Duty) were resolutely determined never to be taken, as long as they were in any Capacity to resist. *But who hath spoken, and it shall come to pass, if the LORD hath not appointed it?* However, We saw the Guards standing before the Door, to carry us away; and we were all brought out one-by-one, and carried to *Guildhall*, except those that hid themselves in the House, and some that escaped by the Way. We were kept about two or three hours in *Guild-hall*; where some escaped, by giving a little Money to the *Marshal*'s Men: And I was urged to do the like; but I had no Clearness in it, thinking it a dishonourable Composition, unsuitable to the Simplicity of Sufferers, and a base encouraging of them in their wicked Trade, many of these Rascals having no other Livelihood. Thereafter we were conducted by a Guard to the Lord Mayor's Lodgings: And by the Way, seeing one before me make a clear Escape, by running, I took the next Opportunity at the turning of a Street, to run: But though formerly I was well acquaint with that Street, yet then I did not consider what Place of the City I was in, but run foreward streight to the Lord *Mayor*'s Grace, and there, by his Officers standing in the Street, I was again apprehended.

ed, and beaten, and abuſed very rudely, the Rabble of on-Lookers applauding their Cruelty, in ſo much, that one ſtanding by, as they were leading me by the Arms, ſaid moſt bitterly, *Have you got him? You ſhould have put your Knife in his Guts.* So we were all brought in before the Lord *Mayor*, and examined. All were ſtrictly and particularly interrogate about the Preacher, *who he was? And what was his Name? And if he was preſent?* But no ſatisfactory Information given, though one, that was immediatly examined before my ſelf, told he was a *Scots* Man, and gave all the Marks he could of his Habite, and Stature, *&c.* and if he had looked about, he would have diſcovered me, ſtanding juſt at his Back: Yet when it came to me, they never asked a Word about the Preacher: So that it was not known then, nor a pretty while after my Impriſonment; which by holy Providence did ſome way contribute to my Tranſportation to *Scotland*: For if it had been known, that I was the Preacher, I ſhould have expected the ordinary *Mittemus* and Lot of Preachers, which ſhould have been only Impriſonment, for ſome Time in *England*; but the LORD had a Mind, to make all things work together for ſcrewing up my Sufferings and Tentations to a greater Height.

The Account of my Examination before the Lord *Mayor*, is ſcarce worth the Inſerting here; Yet becauſe I would omit nothing, the Purport of it was as follows. The firſt Queſtion was, *What is your Buſineſs here?* I Anſwered, I cannot tell. Next, *What was you doing in that Place where you was taken?* Anſwer, We were at the Worſhip of GOD: At which they ſaid nothing, but made Mouths at me. Then my Name was asked, and my Lodging: I told them. *Then, what was my Trade?* I Anſwered, I have no Trade. Said the Lord *Mayor*, *How do you Live then?* I Anſwered, as others that have no Trade. What? ſaid he, *are you a Gentleman?* I Anſwered, ſuch as you ſee, I have no great Eſtate. They urged, *how do you live then?* I Anſwered. GOD provides, I am not very Troubleſome with my Living. Nay, ſaid the *Mayor*, *He is a Vagabond, he muſt be taken Notice of.* I Anſwered, I am no Vagabond, your Lordſhip knows very well, in this Populous City, there are many that have no Trade; Some are Servants, ſome have Served their Time and are Vacant, ſome do expect to be put in ſome way of Living; I am a Sojourner here only, and do want an Employ for the preſent. At which he was Angry, and ſaid, *he muſt be a* Jeſuite, *ſearch him.* So I was ſearched; and when they found my Bible in my Pocket, they obſerved, it wanted the Book of *Common Prayer* at the beginning: At which I ſaid, what ſhould it do there? I Warrand, ſaid ſome of them, he is a great Rogue. So they ſpent many Threatnings and Upbraidings upon me. At length the Lord *Mayor* ſaid, *Well, I will take care, how you ſhall live in Time coming, I will*

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ſend you to a Place, where you ſhall get a Livelyhood: I thanked his Lordſhip. *I will ſend you to* Bridewell, ſaid he; I cannot help it, ſaid I; and ſo was removed unto another Table, where all as they were Examined, were ſet.

After I was ſet down, I began to reflect on the Threatnings, which were very odious to me; not ſo much, becauſe of the Afflictions I might expect in that Place, as, becauſe I looked upon it as Diſhonourable to my Station, to be put in among Thieves, Rogues, Vagabonds and Boys; who are put to Servile Work, and Puniſhed by Whipping, when they do not perform their Task. But this was my Pride, that I diſdained a ſhameful Croſs, not reckoning it my Glory and Joy, with the Apoſtles, *to ſuffer ſhame for his Name*; And alſo my Folly, if it had been ſo ordered, that I had been ſent there, I might have expected a more favourable Lot, and more eaſy outgate. Yet for the Time, the Aſpect of it was ſo odious, that I reſolved, I would rather diſcover my ſelf to be the Preacher to prevent it, come of it what would. But it never came to that; for after all were Examined, Bail was offered and admitted, to Anſwer at next Court at *Guild-hall*, the Third Day thereafter, and my Friends were very Urgent on me to accept of it: I refuſed it Three ſeveral Times, ſcrupling to enter into any Tranſactions with them, being Jealous of ſome Inſnaring Impoſitions, and ſeveral other Scruples I had, and Objections againſt it, at that mean Time; Yet through their Importunity, and the Prevalency of a ſtrong Tentation, ſuggeſting to me what Inconveniencies would follow on my refuſal, how I ſhould be reputed a Singular Fool, Precipitating my own Sufferings, after ſuch an unuſual and unexamplary manner, and conſidering that they knew my Quarters, and, if I were diſcovered to be the Preacher (as I thought ſurely by this time by ſo many Inquiries after it, could not be concealed) they would ſend and ſearch my Chamber, and there they might find ſome Books and Papers of Dangerous conſequence to me: At length, after a Friend came again the fourth Time, and urged me to accept of Bail, ſaying, if I would only Anſwer to my Name. and conſent to his Engagement, nothing more would be required, I condeſcended; and when my Name was called upon, I Anſwered; And my Bail preſenting me, and offering to be Bail for me, the *Mayor* ſaid, I was the Impudenteſt Rogue among them all: For ſaid he, he will not ſo much as give an account of his Trade, or how he lives: Lives! ſaid my Bail, cunningly Smiling, I will tell your Lordſhip, how he Lives, he is a poor Shabby Boy, good for nothing, he comes to my Houſe, ſometimes to ſee a Siſter, and I give him a little Victuals now and then, and he goes at other Times to others, and gets ſome, and that's the way he lives. I wondered at his confident

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Roving, he told me afterwards he was Playing by Equivocations. The Mayor said nothing, but that he believed that was the thing made me so Confident. So he ordered Bail to be accepted for me, and the security drawn up, under the pain of Thirty Pounds Sterling, for my Appearance at *Guild-hall*, to Answer thereat, at that Court, the Day foresaid, which my Hand subscribed. I was very Jealous there was something of the Good Behaviour (as they call it) to be engaged in it, which indeed I cannot tell but there was. But often it was asked me, if I consented to it? I asked, to what? my Bail fearing my Scrupulosity and Inquisitiveness should break all, Answered me roughly; This is only to Answer against *Wednesday*; Yes, said I, when you will, and so they let me go. But when I came Home and reflected upon that Days Transactions, and how upon my first Entry, upon Sufferings, I miscarried so sillily; I cannot express how I was Tortured with the Thoughts of it; Not only because it was great weakness so prejudicial to me, in preventing a more favourable Sentence I might have expected then, than that which I met with afterwards; but because I had no Peace in it, considering how it was a Voluntary subjecting my self to their Impositions, a willing acknowledging of, and binding my self over to their packed perverse and Law-perverting Judicatures, a Spontaneous consenting to their Mischiefs framed into a Law, and Enacted under the Notion of a Law, when I knew the frame of it, and the Form of it, and what I might expect should be the Effect of it against my self; Yea, a dishonourable and Cowardly shifting and putting off the present Opportunity of a Testimony, and confessing an unreadiness to render a Reason for it, as if I had been to seek for Defences, and durst not avouch the Duty I was taken about, but behoved to admit a Deferrence to another Day: And besides, that I had foolishly involved my self into the Incumbrance of of a doubtful Suspence about the Event. Whereas if I had kept at my first Resolution aloft from such Bargains, I might have known the outmost I had to fear or hope from Men. These things were very perplexing and vexing to my Mind, during the Interval of these Three Days, I went and Consulted many, who I thought would be most Friendly and Faithful in their Advice to me; but generally I found them averse from my Appearance, perswading me to decline it by many Arguments taken from the Penalty, being the *Alternative* of the Bond, and that I might be free by paying the Penalty which they offered to advance. But being once engaged I durst not retract, notwithstanding of all their insinuations. Their Arguments of the Penalty of the Bond, it being the *Alternative* Condition thereof, were not satisfactory to me: For I considered, that neither in such a Bond *Alternative*, for then would it have been offered to my Choice, whether I would appear on such a Day, or pay such a Sum

of

of Money? then I might have been free to make a Choice; not was their Stipulation, nor my Promiſe *Alternative*, but plain and ſimple, obliging my ſelf poſitively to that Appearance and ſubjecting my ſelf to the Penalty, as the Puniſhment of the Breach of that Obligation, in caſe I broke it: I thought that the Fancy of eſtiding the Bond by paying the Penalty, would quite enervate all Security among Men in their mutual Compacts of that Nature, and under that Pretence they might gave a ſatisfactory Complyance to the moſt wicked impoſed Obligation imaginable, or with a reſerved intention duly to pay the impoſed Penalty; which Reſervations I thought ſo far from being ſuitable to that Chriſtian Simplicity the Goſpel requires, that I judged it would not anſwer that Moral Honeſty, that our Concern in the Good of Humane Society calls for. I had Reflections alſo on that word *Jer.* 15. 4. holding forth this as one Qualification requiſite for the Expectants of Heaven, *though they ſwear to their own Hurt, they will not change it*; And conſequently, if they bind themſelves by a Promiſe, which a Chriſtian ſhould be no leſs tender of than of his Oath: Upon theſe and the like Conſiderations I determined to keep the Dyet.

Accordingly when the Day came, *January* 14, 1685. I came to *Guild-Hall*, and was there waiting ſeveral Hours till they ſhould fall upon the Buſineſs of our Meeting, and was as really Determined to Anſwer that Day, as ever I deſigned any thing; but the LORD had not appointed it, but fruſtrated my Intention Providentially, for that Day; For being under the Inconveniency of ſome Friends preposterous obſerving of me, and fearing leaſt thereby I ſhould be more noticed by the Court; and finding them ſo occupied otherwiſe, that I might have Time enough to go out and refreſh my ſelf; I tarried but a very little while, and in the mean Time of my Abſence I was called, and none anſwering for me, my Bond was Forefaulted! Which Diſappointment did very much commove me, for fear of being reproached by my Enemies, miſtaken by my Friends, and miſconſtructed by my Bail, or Cautioner; And therefore as ſoon as I underſtood, that my Name had been called upon in my Abſence, I went through the whole Crowd in the Houſe ſeveral Times to ſeek him, and not finding him, I went ſtraight to his Houſe but could not meet with him: Only I ſaw his Wife, and told her the Caſe, who was very diſpleaſed with it, and ſaid, *Alas! why did you ſo? you have exceedingly wronged our Family*; which went as a Nail to my Heart; ſo that I was confounded, and could anſwer nothing, nor could I be reſolved what to do, whether to offer my ſelf to the Court (but that I thought preposterous and ugly to own my ſelf their Legal Priſoner) or to my Bail, but I could not find him. In this Perplexity I went Home much

much disquieted, and continued some Days undetermined, what Course to fall upon, whether to rest in that Providential Issue, and endeavour to satisfie my Bail, and bear him harmless, by paying the Sum, or to move further in it, there being yet another Day of Court to come before the Sessions Adjournment, which was to be seven Days thereafter: But before that Day came, I was necessitated to a Resolution, which was the Commencement of my Sufferings. For, my Bail consulting his own Security, and fearing lest his Name coming in question, he should suffer loss, and be further involved into Troubles, if he should be more noticed, he being a *Dissenter* from the Church of *England*; to prevent this, made some indiscreet haste to my detriment, driving furiously for a Composition for his Forefeited Bond, to compass which he applyed himself to the Lord *Mayor* and Clerks, *&c.* who bade him produce me: This I thought very much tending to my Reproach. My Friends offered him many Securities to bear him harmless, if he would desist; yea, a Bond was offered to him for Ten Pounds more, if he would sit still and not move further in it; he would not, but still pressed for ready Money to pay the Sum, that his Goods might not be harmed for it, though it was a preparing, and all imaginable Security offered to ease him of that Burden, which did determine me to a Resolution that neither he nor they should be troubled with it. It seemed an intolerable Burden to me to be burdensome to them; And to enrich my Enemies with the Spoil of my Friends, upon the account of the Forefeiture of my Promise, seemed such a dishoneſt and dishonourable thing to me, that upon Deliberation, I determined to prevent both my Friends Charges, my Bail's paying, and my Exactors receiving any Money upon such an Account; So that I thought my self Stated in such Circumstances, as that Two Evils were offered to my Choice unavoidably; either a Prison under the Reproach of Folly, or Liberty under the Repute of Fraudulency. The first I thought more eligible: For I thought CHRIST's Cross, even with Reproaches, is alwise a better Choice, than the World's Ease purchased at any Price, which is a Hire for CHRIST's Enemies: So I resolved upon an Appearance *Tuesday* next, which I was somewhat encouraged unto, by a Friend's interposure and undertaking to interceed for me with the Lord *Mayor*, having great interest in him; Who accordingly went to him and pre-engaged him into a Promise of Favour. But when all came to all, I found by Experience, that Creature's Favour is either ensnaring or very deceitful; But Providence had a special overruling Hand in it, beyond his Purpose, and besides his intention: For I am apt to have so much Charity for him as to think if he had got his Will, I should not have been a Prisoner for that Day; . However he gave

many

many fair Promiſes to be tender of me, and that he would conſult both the Liberty of my Perſon, and ſafety of my Conſcience: For my Friend precautioned him, that he would find me very preciſe and Sticking in Matters of Conſcience: He ſaid he would do well enough for that, and bid me come along with him that Morning before the Court, unto his Lodging, that he might ſpeak with me; and further, did expreſs great indignation at my Bail, for his fooliſhneſs and precipitancy in over-driving the Buſineſs; For ſaid he, if he had let it alone, it might have lain dormant all the Time of my *Mayoralty*, and, for ought I know, ſeven *Mayors* Times after me; For ſeldom or never do we take notice of ſuch things, but when they are put in our Heads officiouſly.

When the Day came, *January* 20*th* in the Morning, I appointed with my Friend abovementioned, to have prevented my Publick Appearance at Court, by Speaking with the Lord *Mayor* in private; but he had gone to Court before we came, and I durſt not then draw back; when I thought the LORD was leading me on; ſo we went together to *Guild-hall*: And when all the Names were called on, that had been referred to that Day's Diſcuſſion, I anſwered to mine: And being Queſtioned, why I did not Anſwer the Day before? I Anſwered, That I had been there Attending ſeveral Hours, and had reſolved to Anſwer, but finding the Court imployed about Buſineſs, that would take up ſome Time, I took a ſhort Turn out, for ſome Refreſhment, thinking to return before it ſhould come to my Buſineſs; But my Name was in the mean time called upon, and I could not find my Bail to introduce me; And therefore now I am come to relieve him of his Bond. Thereafter my Indictment was Read, importing a Grievous Charge, *That I, with others, had, upon the* 11*th of* January *in the Year of our Sovereign Lord the King*, Charles *the* 2*d. King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *the Thirty Sixth, in* London, *in the Parish of St.* Vidaſtus *alias* Foſters, *in Ward of* Farringdon, *with Force and Arms, Riotouſly, Unlawfully and Tumultuouſly Aſſembled and Met together, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, under Colour and Pretext of the Exerciſe of Religion, after another manner, than according to the Liturgy and Uſe of the Church of* England, *in a Man's Manſionable Houſe, in* Gutter-lane, *in open Contempt of our Sovereign Lord the King, His Laws, Crown and Dignity?* Then after the uſual Form, the Queſtion was put to me, *Guilty or not Guilty*: I Anſwered, *not Guilty*. Then Legal Probation ſhould have been led againſt me; but this they did not Trouble themſelves with at this Time, but moſt Arbitrarily and Illegally they proceeded againſt me, as they had done the other Day, with my Fellow Priſoners; eſpecially by means of the *Recorder's* being there, a moſt Ingrained Enemy to our Cauſe, and a Hater of our Nation; who the former Court Day, and

then alſo, did moſt Virulently Inveigh againſt us, eſpecially who were *Scotch-men*, ſaying, *That we were moſt Peſtilent and Intolerable, that the Severity of our Laws made us flee our Country, for there they could Extort by Torture any thing, and had Laws to Extort a Man's Thoughts, and then Hang him for them, when diſcovered; but now*, ſaid he, *they are come to abuſe our Mild Laws, they have no Paralel*, ſaid he, *for Wicked Principles, and Practices; Murders and Rebellions!* His Preſence did much Prejudge me, for I had expected to have been more Favourably handled by the Lord *Mayor*: And the Reflection on his former Inſolency did confound me with fear and Indignation at him, which made my Talk to him more ſhort and confuſed, and not ſo pleaſing. After I anſwered *not Guilty*, he asked what Country Man I was? I might have evaded a direct Anſwer: But Remembering what an Enemy he was to that Nation, my Indignation did expel my fear, and made me diſdain to deny or decline the avouching of it: I Anſwered therefore ſomewhat boldly, I am a *Scotch-Man* Born and Bred. Then he ſtood up, being ſitting before, and I ſaw Fury and Revenge in his Face: He asked then Imperiouſly, *will you take the Oath of Allegiance*? I was agoing to ſhape an Anſwer, but pauſing a little, I was prevented by another Queſtion from the Lord *Mayor*, which I took as an Inſinuation of his Favour, and his unwillingneſs to have me Premunir'd, by propounding a more plain and eaſie Queſtion, not ſo Dangerous; *will you* (ſaid he,) *engage never to go to a Meeting again*? I Anſwered, No, I will not engage any ſuch thing. Go take him away (*ſaid he*) to Priſon; but I was not let go ſo. The *Recorder*, to Inveigle me further, and to ſhew his Venom, began to urge me with a great many Impertinent Queſtions, relating to *Scotch* Matters, the firſt Time that ever ſuch things were heard urged in open Court in *England*; which made the very By-ſtanders to hiſs at the Abſurdity and Ridiculouſneſs of them: *Where was you* (ſaid he) *in the Time of Bothwel-Bridge-Rebellion*? I was in *Scotland*, ſaid I. *Was you there*? ſaid he, that muſt be proved, ſaid I. But, ſaid he, *what do you think*? *was it Rebellion*? I am not to give an Account of my Thoughts, ſaid I. He urged further, if I owned a Declaration diſowning the King, and Aſſerting Murdering Principles? And further, if I approved of the late Biſhop of St. *Andrew's* Slaughter? And if I thought it was Murder? I Anſwered, I came not here to Anſwer ſuch Queſtions, but to Anſwer to my Indictment, I have heard it read, there is not a Word of theſe things in it: I will Anſwer to nothing Extraneous to my Charge. Then it was ordered, I ſhould be removed and taken to Priſon; And furthwith I was taken to *Newgate*, without any *Mittimus* at all, or ſo much as any expreſs Order of Court, which Priſon I ſhould be committed to. By the Way I could have eſcaped,

ſcapedy being Guarded only with one common Officer, and rather cheated into it by his fair Words, than carried by his Authority or Power: For I told him by the Way, That he had no Orders to carry me to any particular Priſon, but only keep me in Cuſtody, and if he would take upon him to lead me into any Priſon, I would not obey him; he promiſed he would not, but only take me into a Cellar, where I might expect my Friend would come to me; and told me, I needed not doubt but it would be otherways ordered, and that haſty Command (as is uſual, ſaid he) would be retracted. I ſimply went alongſt with him, and was led in an unknown Way, ſtreight to *Newgate*: Where going into the Lower Cellar, he delivered me to the Keepers, and ſaid, I was committed a Priſoner: And ſo was carried into the *Maſters-Common-ſide* (as it is called) into the other Room where other ſeven of my Country-men and Fellow Priſoners, taken at the ſame Meeting, were.

After I had compoſed my ſelf a little among my Fellow Priſoners, I told them how I was Cheated; and was much troubled with Reflections on my ſtupid Silline's, and Fooliſh Facility, in being brought hither ſo eaſily and Ignorantly by one Man: And conſidering I was no legal Priſoner, even according to their own Law; which provides, That if any Man be carried to Priſon, without an expreſs Order, Signifying the Cauſe and Continuance, and Place *&c.* of their Commitment, he may by Law demand his Liberty, and recover 5 *Lib. Sterl.* for every Hour of his falſe Impriſonment: And thinking that poſſibly I could not be ſo much Remarked at my firſt in-coming, but that I might make a ſlip undiſcovered; I eſſayed to take the opportunity of a Friend, a Viſiter, his going out, to go along with him. But when I came to the Door, I was ſtopped: And when I demanded my Liberty, and asked for the Keeper's Orders, and bid him keep me upon his Peril, for he might come to Anſwer for it. But thoſe Threats did not move him; And ſo I returned to my Comrads, who were very Solicitous about the iſſue of the Attempt; and was brought to ſome Compoſure of Mind, and to Poſſeſs my Soul in Patience, in the conſideration of the Sovereignity of the Almighty, who does all things well and wiſely, and will get the Glory of Wiſdom, even from the Creature's Folly. There I remained ſeveral Days before my *Mittimus* came, which contained my Charge, to the Effect abovementioned, and no more, but that I had been at ſuch a Meeting, and ordered me to be kept in Secure Cuſtody, until the next *Quarter Seſſion*, which was to be at *Guild-hall*, againſt *February* 23*d.* next to come; which Term I waited with Patience. But before that Time, ſeveral Things did occur, not to be forgotten by me.

The Room we were in was a cold, dark, naſty Hole, and had ano-

ther worſe Inconveniency of evil Neighbourhood, being next to the Room, where many Thieves, Robbers, High-way-Men, Pick-pockets, Fellons and Murderers were roaring and raging, like Hell, and nothing betwixt them and us, but a Grate, and our Room was a Through-fare to them to go down to the Cellar, whence they would come up amongſt us drunk, rattling with their Irons on their Legs; which was very diſturbing and diſcompoſing; and the Room being ſo open, we could get no Conveniency for our Religious Exerciſe, but in the Night-time, when all were cloſed up. Yet though we had Offers of better Accommodation in the other Side of the Priſon, for paying exorbitant Fees, and had many Invitations from our Friends, Priſoners there, and many Solicitations from others; and could look for nothing but the Rage of our Enemies, and the Reproach, or Miſconſtructions of our Friends, for our ſcrupulous Refuſal; yet upon ſeveral Conſiderations, we demurred the Acceptance of it: Some of which I expreſſed in a Line to a dear Friend, and Preacher of the Goſpel, Priſoner there, who had much urged me with that, when by his procurement, I got Liberty to viſit him. The Letter was to this Effect,

Newgate, February 16. 1685.

Reverend and much Endeared Brother,

I Have not much of the Art, either of Ingratiating Flattery, or ingenuous Apologiſing, neither do I think, there is much Need of either to captate your Favour, which I preſume is diſpoſed to a charitable Conſtruction of me; though poſſibly my Declinature of your kind and careful Propoſal the other Day, might require ſome ſuch thing; Yet I hope, your Candor will not put any ſiniſtrous Interpretation on it, ſo far as your Diſcretion will ſuggeſt to you a favourable Meaning: I perſwade my ſelf, you will not judge my not accepting of a Chamber on your Side, did proceed, either from Scrupuloſity to yield to ſuch an Accommodation upon your Terms, as if I would take upon me to cenſure you, in that wherein you have ſo much Peace, and more Tenderneſs, than I can pretend unto; or from any Curioſity of Fondneſs for this Place, which hath ſo little inviting in it to any Rational Man, much leſs to a Chriſtian (except it be the Advantage of having a View of Hell at the next Door) or from any Niggardly Loathneſs to part with Money, to which (for any thing ever I had Occaſion to know of it) I judge the leaſt Degree of Liberty, or Mitigation of Bondage, is very far preferable; eſpecially in thoſe my Circumſtances, wherein I fear, or rather hope, I ſhall not have much Uſe for Money; far leſs, that it did proceed from any Averſation from that Converſe, I might expect with you, than which in this our Lot, nothing could be more deſirable, and nothing that I can think upon can be a more forcible Argument, to determine me to that Choice, which you deſired. But I hope, That upon a very overly Reflection on our Circumſtances,

which

which you are not ignorant of, your own Conſideration will lead you into another Eſtimate of my Motives, as yet to demur that Choice: Conſidering, there is ſome peculiar Singularity in my Circumſtances, yet hanging in Suſpence, which very ſhortly I expect will come to ſome Determination, and then that will determine my Choice, which hitherto, partly upon this Account, hath been demurred; becauſe I could not know what to expect, as to their diſpoſing of me. Then conſidering, why my Friends and Country-Men here, did chuſe this Place at Firſt; Partly to ſave Charges, not expecting ſuch Supplies, as the Goodneſs of GOD, and Bounty of his Friends, have provided them with; and having the Offer of this Place, and Promiſe of Freedom therein, without an Hire given to their Oppreſſors; And partly, indeed ſcrupulous, to give ſuch Exactors any Acknowledgement of ſuch impoſed Debts, or Encouragement to their unjuſt Exactions, which, whatever may be ſaid, as to the Relevancy of it, yet I judge it not my Part to cenſure or oppoſe, ſeing I have been known by them, ſome time to have ſaid, That if ever I were a Priſoner, I ſhould deſire to do the like, if it were in my Choice. Then alſo conſidering, That at my firſt commencing this new Lot, for which I bleſs GOD, I have more need of Help to praiſe, than Pity; I could n t either in Conſcience, or Credit, deſert my Brethren and Countrey-Men, taken with me, and for me, and who were pleaſed to encourage themſelves in Expectation of my Company, tho' very inſignificant and worthleſs: And therefore now, if I ſhould precipitate my Choice of other Accommodations, I ſhould not only diſcourage and diſpleaſe them, but be juſtly cenſurable, as regarding more my own Advantage, than their Encouragement, or my Duty to them: Nay, both Friends and Enemies might reproach me, either of inconſtant, changeable Levity, or weak Impatience under the Croſs. Theſe Conſiderations, and others that may be added, have ſome Weight at preſent to preponderate, or at leaſt to demur my Choice, until both I come to ſome Underſtanding of what the inſtant Seſſions will determine about me, and until my Fellow-Priſoners be provided for, as well as my ſelf, at leaſt till they have ſome Acceſs to, or Opportunity of hearing the Word; for I cannot think of leaving them deſtitute. I did propoſe to them your Overture of going to that Room, called the Caſtle; *which, upon that prevailing Motive of your Communion, and your Friends in your Side, in the Goſpel Ordinances, in a Freedom from our diſtracting Diſturbances, I find 'em inclinable to hearken to, and take it to Conſideration; but yet they muſt delay, till they ſee what GOD will order concerning them and me; whether we may expect ſome Settlement here, or to be ſent elſe where. This I was deſired by them, to ſignifie to you. As for my Health, 'tis indeed valetudinary, and I have been ill of a pained Throat ſince I was with you, occaſioned, as I think, by my too much Greedineſs of the open Air; but I bleſs the LORD, it is pretty well recovered again; if it recur, and Neceſſity urge, then I muſt make bold to ſeek a Lodging with you; but this at preſent does not fall under Deliberation. He, who is the Health of our Soul, can alſo preſerve,*

ſerve that of our Body here, as well as there. Sir, *I return you hearty Thanks for your Favour, in procuring me the Priviledge of my laſt Viſit, and I earneſtly wiſh, that by your Interceſſion it might be continued. I am informed, That I am to appear ſhortly at Seſſions, I would deſire therefore to put you in mind of your Promiſe, and intreat it as a favour, to ſend me a Line of Advice, and of your thoughts of what I may plead as my Priviledge, together with that little Book of Engliſh Liberties; As alſo, I would fain know, if they can legally tender to me, the Oaths of Allegiance before the King's Coronation. Remember me to all Friends with you. I am,*

Your Obliged Friend, and Brother in our Lord Jeſus, and Companion in Tribulation. A. S.

This was written after the late King's Fatal and Aſtoniſhing Death, the Circumſtances whereof, and Opinions and Suſpicions about it, I cannot Pertinently here Speak of, but only to Remark how it fell out in that Juncture, when we were Peremptorly and Poſitively threatned to be Tranſported to *Scotland*, but that Emergent retarded it a little, by His Order, *who cuts of the Spirit of Princes, and is Terrible to the Kings of the Earth.* It is a little Prepoſterous here to declare, how this was brought about, before I Memorate ſome other Paſſages, that were previous to it; only this much, to Explain the laſt Sentence of the foregoing Letter, the Inſertion of which alſo, is a little out of Order, and may be thought not ſo pertinent to Tranſcribe here ſo largely; But I have ſet it down in this place, becauſe it gives an Account of my Indictments, to ſuſtain that firſt Grievance of ſtaying in that Noiſom Room, and the Obloquies that we behoved thereupon to underly for that time.

Another Grievance I met with there, was a ſevere Threatning, yea, and a Charge from Captain *Richardſon* the chief Keeper of *Newgate*, to remove from that place to a worſe, among the Fellons and Rogues in the *Common-ſide*, if I would not pay the Dues of the Houſe, which I reſolved not to obey, except forced by Violence; yet, to prevent Irritation, and upon my Comrade's deſire, I wrote a Letter to him, which becauſe I kept not a Copy of it, I cannot here Inſert: But the import of it was, *To ſhow that we were Ignorant of the Laws of the Houſe: Neither was it our Sentence to be Subject to all his Impoſitions; That we had not taken any Chamber from him, upon any Terms or Conditions to Pay him, and if he were not ſatisfied to Lodge us for nothing, let him ſend us out to ſhift for our ſelves; And becauſe we were not his Voluntary Lodgers, to be Entertained according to Compact, but his Priſoners, and not legally ſo neither, we did not think it convenient to hire him to oppreſs us; But withal, deſiring him in Generoſity to conſider, we were not Fellons, and that he would not be raſh, but put it off a little till Seſſions were over, and then, if we were liberate, or however it fell out, he ſhould not have*

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cauſe to complain of our Civility. Which Line, tho' not ſo very Ingratiating, yet did obtain a delay till the Time came of our Tranſportation; And ſo never got any Fees from us.

Our Impriſonment, tho' we were Perſons of obſcure Note, and mean Figure in the World, yet, becauſe we were *Scots-Men*, and ſo many taken together at a Meeting, was very much Noiſed and Talked in the City, ſo that the Rumour went to Court, That a Neſt or Hive of *Scotch* Rebels was taken, thereupon Sir *Andrew Forreſter* one of the Under-Secretaries, was ſent to Examine my Comrads, before I entered to Priſon; They were Interrogate upon all the *Scotch* uſual Queſtions, and thereafter when it ſeems the Report went, that I was alſo in Cuſtody, belike, either by the Invidious Information of Enemies, or the ſimple unadviſed Sollicitation of Friends, he was ſent to Examine me, upon all the Ordinary Inſnaring Interrogatures, *viz.* *Owning the King's Authority, the Covenant, the Principle of Defenſive Arms, the Biſhop's Death, and the late Declaration.* Some of which I declined, ſome I owned, *viz.* *The Covenant*, which I alledged was once our Oath of *Allegiance*, and that Principle of Defenſive Arms. The Particular account whereof, I left in *London*, here to be * inſerted.

Before I was removed, when he had been Queſtioning me about converſing with the Earl of *Argyle*, and Mr. *Ferguiſon*, which I obviouſly and eaſily declined, yet I had ſimply told him, that lately I had been in *Holland*, which yet, when he wrote down all the reſt of my Anſwers, he forgot to take Notice, or make mention of in the Paper, he was to return to them that ſent him; which I am bound to Notice and Remember, as a great Providence: For if he had ſet that down, I might have expected a more troubleſome Tryal on that Head, when I was before the Council of *Scotland*, who had all the reſt of my Anſwers, and ſhifting Declinatures to canvaſs, being ſent down hither by Poſt.

* *The Account here to have been inſerted, is not to be found.*

We were then expecting, and many Times Threatned to be Tranſported before the King's Death to *Scotland*; One thing eſpecially I cannot forget to Record, that was ſent to us a very few days before his Death. A Friend of one of my Comrads went to ſee Sir *And. Forreſter* to intreat for his Mediation for ſome Favour; The Anſwer he got was, to bid us prepare our ſelves for Tranſportion, for it was peremptorly reſolved, that aſſuredly at leaſt four of us, whereof I was one, ſhould be ſent down to *Scotland*, and that very ſhortly, *if there be not a Revolution in the Government!* which happened within a very few days. I ſhall not put any Strained Conſtruction on the words, which may ſeem to inſinuate the Suſpicion, either of Fear ſuch a thing ſhould fall out, or of

previous

previous Knowledge of the thing, as determined, which was ſhrewdly ſuſpected by ſome, and the Reflection on it, when Occurring, *February* 2d, (the Day of the King's Death) with all the ſurpriſing Circumſtances of it, and ugly Preſumptions of foul-play, was very aſtoniſhing to us: Or if the words be capable of a more favourable Senſe, as importing only the greateſt of Aſſeverations, that nothing elſe could hinder our Tranſportation, but ſuch an unexpected intervention; Yet, it was too far ſaid, and too raſhly ſpoken, to impawn the ſtanding of the Government for our Removal. However it did ſo fall out, that that Revolution was a Let and Demur to our being ſent to *Scotland* for a Time.

But none of theſe Preſſures, either of preſent Troubles or future Fears, were ſo weighty to me, as to bear the many Calumnies and Aſperſions that were caſt upon me, even by pretended Friends, and too credulouſly entertained even by well-wiſhers, reproaching me with Affectation of Singularity and Giddy-Headed wildneſs, and dangerouſneſs of Principles, and fooliſh running upon my own Sufferings. This was a great preſſure upon my Spirit, and eſpecially when I heard, ſuch things were not only the Matter of common Talk, but particularly that my Friend, who had ſo much interpoſed for me with the Lord *Mayor*, and to whoſe Kindneſs I was ſo much obliged, was now highly reſenting my Folly, and ſaying ſuch things of me, and Proteſting, that he had rather loſt Ten Pounds, before he had ever meddled with me; Which thing I could not believe of him whom I eſteemed ſo highly; Yet, for my own Exoneration, I write to him as follows.

Worthy Sir, From *Newgate,*

AS I was never much acquainted with that part of the Age's Vanity, to affect a Paraſitical Humour, ſo my Preſent Lot, doth more eſpecially reſtrain me, under the Correcting Rebukes of the Holy Sovereign GOD, from uſing any Flattering Complements; yet not knowing but that my Silence now as well as my Speaking before, may be miſconſtructed, I thought it needful to give you the Trouble of this Line, Signifying to you, my yet abiding, conſtant Reſentment of your Kindneſs, and care of my Concerns, and that I hope you will Entertain another Opinion of my Ingenuity and Simplicity, than to judge, that I make the Succeſs of your undertakings the only Eſtimate of your Kindneſs. Sir, tho' it may be Charged to my unhappineſs, that I cannot requite any of your Favours, and to my Folly, that I could not improve them; yet, I hope it ſhall never be Charged to my Ingratitude, that I forget the Senſe of it, or do not reſent it as thankfully, as if your Appearances for me had Succeeded, according to your deſign, and my deſires. I am very Confident, that in your undertakings for me, you tended and had regard to that Peace and Satisfaction of my Conſcience, as well as the Beneſit of my Liberty: for which I believe, you did ſo much, and was

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as Solicitous, as any Man or Christian could be for another, especially in the Croud of your other more important Businesses, which I am also Sensible you did postpone to mine: And as for the Event of it, I ever was, and ever shall be far from blaming either your Wisdom, or Diligence in that Matter, which was otherways over-ruled by a Higher and Wiser Hand, for my Tryal and Humbling, which I am called to adore with submissive Silence whatever Reflections I may have my self, or others may cast upon my Folly or Indiscretion. For after that Providence, by disappointing my resolved Appearance, the first Day at Guild-hall, seemed to me to take the Determination of that Case out of my Hand, I gave my self Implicitly to his Conduct, without any Anxiety, what should be the Issue of it, as to my Safety, if he might get Honour to himself out of it, in a way, wherein, most of himself, and least of me, should be seen; as I hope he will so in the End: And hence, all my care and desire was, to avoid Snares for my self, and trouble to my Friends, by either complying or compounding with my Adversaries. And therefore seeing my Bail, by his Imprudent, (tho' I shall ever think Honest and Simple) Precipitancy was like to involve himself, or engage my Friends in loss and trouble upon my Account, and to the Encouraging of the Enemy in their Impositions, and Acknowledging of their Illegal Incroachments. To prevent that, I was glad of all Opportunities, either to take it wholly off them, or to take all the burden upon my self; and with this desire, the offer of your kindness to me, and Interest in my Lord Mayor, did very well suit, and agree. And I thank the Lord, that with the Event of it, he hath given me Submission and Satisfaction, and so clear and indisputed Ground to state my Sufferings upon; For, whatever may be said, as to the occasion procuring my Sufferings, which I shall not trouble the World much to Justifie, tho many take to themselves the trouble of talking so much of it to my Reproach; yet, as to the Ground of it, I my self, and they that sent me hither do know be[illegible] and that was for a simple Answer to one Question, and a Refusal to Answer others, which all Impartial Men will think Impertinent and Extraneous to the Charge, that I came there to Answer for. That which I did Answer, was very plainly Proposed, as one could have desired, by my Lord Mayor: Whether I would engage, never to go to a Meeting again? which I refused, not knowing how otherwise to evade it; as not being very expert in the Art of Equivocations. The other, relating to Scots Matters, I did decline, because though I could be very free, and not ashamed to declare to the World, my Sentiments of those things, yet neither did I think them proper for the Cognizance of that Court, nor (if they had) Pertinent nor Expedient for me to Answer; resolving never willingly to abandon that universally acknowledged Principle and Priviledge, of the freedom of the Thoughts from Mens Jurisdiction. As for the other, about the Oath of Allegiance, I was altogether silent neither had I Time to Answer; for that I took as my Lord Mayor's Kindness to me, that he was pleased to Divert it with another Question, which I

I chuſe rather to Anſwer. Now herein whatever weakneſs was in the Management of my Appearance and Anſwers, which I ſhall not Excuſe; yet I have Peace in the Product of it, that the cauſe of my Commitment was ſo clear, becauſe through Grace, I would neither betray the Intereſt of Truth and Duty, in engaging never to own it, nor my own Intereſt, common with Mankind, in anſwering all impoſed Queſtions: For this I am glad that I am in New-gate, *tho' under the Imputation of a Fool, rather than at Liberty, under the odious Character of a Knave.*

Sir, The Reaſon of my Prolixneſs is, partly to Excuſe my ſelf from any contumelious Calumnies, that ſome have raiſed of me, and of you, as being ſaid to come from you; and partly to eaſe me of the Suſpicion, if the Report be true, and to vindicate you from the Slander, if it be falſe, as I hope it is, which is ſaid of you, viz. *That you ſhould ſay, I have run my ſelf headlong, or head-ſtrong, into this Lot; and that I diſcovered my ſelf to be a Man of very Dangerous Principles; and that I Spoke Treaſon before that Honourable Court; and that therefore you wiſhed you had rather loſt Ten Pounds than ever to have been concerned in or for my Appearance. Sir, This Report hath been very Wounding to my Ears, as I believe the repeating of it, which my Confidence in your Candor will not ſuffer me to conceal, will be very unpleaſant to yours; and I am very loth to entertain any ſuch thoughts of a Man of your Ingenuity, to whom I am ſo much obliged: But to the Thing it ſelf alledged to be ſaid by you, I crave leave to ſay, As to the firſt, My own Acceſſion to my preſent Affliction, I think it not ſo much my Buſineſs to clear my ſelf, who am ſo conſcious of ſo much ſin and folly, attending all my Actions, as to vindicat others, who may be traduced for it, and to free them from the Snare of doing that for me, which I had not clearneſs to do my ſelf. This was my Acceſſion, and this I muſt own: But I think I am more indiſpenſibly called to clear* GOD, *who hath done all things well and wiſely for me in this Concern, diſcovering my Folly, the imprudence of ſome Men's Diligence, the unſucceſsfulneſs of others more prudent Tranſactions, the fallibility of all Carnal and Created Confidence, in putting Truſt in Men, and making all theſe things conduce and co-operate for his own Holy Ends in my Tryal. However I hope that He will make it appear, that I have not run without His leading,* who leadeth the Blind in a way they know not. *As for my Principles, I know not any Occaſion I had to diſcover them there; or if I had, I truſt I could have manifeſted they were not dangerous, tho' may be, they might be ſuch as might endanger my own preſent Safety: I know none that ever I intertained or diſcovered to the World, but if I were called thereto, I truſt thro' Grace, I dare avouch them without Fear or Shame. As for my ſpeaking Treaſon, I am lyable to the Court's Cenſure for it, and think it a ſufficient Diſcharge and Confutation of that, that I am ſent hither in ſuch a manner and upon ſuch a* Mittimus; *And I hope you your ſelf can clear me of any ſuch thing who was a preſent Ear-Witneſs*

ness to what was said, and therefore I need not repeat it. It might have been said better, and with more Wit, but I cannot tell, if with more Honesty, the Honour of which I look most to. As for the last, I must needs confess, whether you was pleased to say it or not, you might very well say it; For I believe the Loss of Ten Pound would not have been either so great a Loss, or so great a Trouble as you have sustained and undergone in this Troublesome Business. But I hope, as you did undertake it upon a higher Design, and a more Honourable Account, than either your own Credit, or my Safety; so He, upon whose Account you did it, will carry you through, and bring it to more advantage than twice so many Pounds can amount to.

Thus, Sir, I have made bold to accost you, with this confused scribling, amidst the Hurry and Noise of this Nasty and Tumultuous Place; hoping you will put the most favourable Construction upon it that its capable of; and that for the unsuccessfulness of this Attempt, you will not be discouraged, nor disdain to help me, at least with your Advice and Council, as being wholly ignorant of what is Law, whereof I only desire the Benefit; And that you would be pleased to put me in some way for the Mitigation and Accommodation of our Afflictions, how to get off the pinching Irons from my fellow Prisoners, which will exceedingly add to the many Obligations already conferred on. Sir,

Your Humble and Obliged Servant in our Sweet LORD JESUS, *A. S.*

When the Term drew near of the Sessions at *Guildhall* I was looking to have been called, and preparing for the worst of it, which I expected then should have been to be premunired, for refusing the Oath of *Allegiance*, which I resolved never to take. But my forecastings were not determined in Heaven. The LORD had appointed me for further Tryals, than I could then foresee, though still I had some fears of the threatned Transportation, as I have before hinted; which at that distance had a very formidable aspect. Therefore I earnestly desired at that Time to have been called, that so my Cause might come to a Decision in Judgement, and thereby my fears of more might be precluded. Therefore I had sent to the Clerk to get a Sight of my Indictment, and to desire him to mind to call me. But when the Day came *February*, 23*d*, I was forgot, and not called. Some days after the Court was to be holden at *Old-Bailie*, by the Lord *Mayor* and *Recorder*, *&c.* Before which I had a Mind to urge my Compearance; but was much dissuaded by Friends; yea, the Clerk, in an Excuse which he sent for forgetting me at *Guildhall*, dissuaded me from appearing at *Old Bailie*, and advised me to go by an Order to the Lord *Mayor* in private, after Sessions were over: Which I took to Advisement. But I was prevented of coming to any deliberate Determination, by a new surprising Charge: The Night before our Transportation, late at Night, a Messenger came to us; and bid us prepare for Removing out of that Place next Morning: And

when asked, whither? he would not satisfie us, but told, he knew not, but it might be to *Ludgate*, another Prison in the City; but we suspected the worst, that it was indeed for *Scotland*, and sat up all Night, where recollecting what all my Transactions with the Lord *Mayor*, were now like to come to, I wrote a Letter to him, which I left behind to be delivered next Morning, which because I have not a Copy of it, I cannot here Transcribe, but the import of it was: *To acquaint him that now we were most illegally to be taken out of his Hands, and to be Transported to* Scotland, *without Intimation of any Charge, which, as for my own particular, behoved to be an intolerable Illegalitie, I being no Legal Prisoner, now after the expiring of my Commitment; and therefore might demand my Libertie. I put him in Mind, how against all Law, and known Practice, I had been sent to Prison, for declining impertinent Questions, which all present at Court, hissed at, and refusing an Engagement, never to go to a Meeting again, which in some Sense no Conscience could take, nor no Law could impose; and yet when I was sent, it was without any peremptorie Order or* Mittimus, *till I had been there several Days; And when it came, it specified the continuance of my restraint there only, till next Sessions; at which I was not called, though I had given the Clerk timeous Advertisement before. I desired him to mind, that the Law of* England *made my Meeting for Worship (not according to the Liturgie) one of two, either a* Conventicle *or a* Rant: *And let ours be made what it could, such a Procedure with me, could have no Colour of Law; For if it were a* Conventicle, *then the House and Preachers were onlie lyable to pay Twentie Pound a Piece, and the Meeters only five shillings. And if it were made a* Rant, *the House was to pay nothing, and the Meeters were to be Fined in Fourtie shillings: But however, I discovered that the Recorder, for his own most base Ends, had made sure work with our Meeting, and in a Clandestine way had made it both, a* Conventicle *to exact the Fine of Twentie Pound, which through the Good-Man's simplicitie, was payed him (I suppose unknown to his Lordship) and a* Rant *to make the poor People (there taken) pay Exorbitant Fines: Which as it was contrarie to all Law, so it was palpablie inconsistent with Common Sense, for it could not be both. I desired him to Reflect on his fair Promisses to my Friend, and if neither Respect to Justice, nor pity to the Oppressed, nor regard to Faithfulness in many reiterated Promises might carry weight: Yet that some respect to the Honour of the Name of* Mayor *should be upstirring, to signifie some Resentments of the Encroachments which were made on his Authority and Jurisdiction, in Treating us his Prisoners at such a Rate, possibly all without his Knowledge: That therefore he might shew his Power and Respect to the Credite of his Court, &c. to rescue it, and stop our Transportation, and Arrest us, till further Orders. And that he would mind the Extremity of this haste and hurry, was the Desire of &c.*

A. S.

This

This is only ſome Memorial of the Matter of that Letter which I prepared for my Lord *Mayor*, to be ſent to him next Morning, as early as was poſſible, but whether it was ever delivered or not, I know not, or how he reſented it, both ignorant and regardleſs: But it was pretty long, full, and plain: However, I waited not the Anſwer, for very early next Morning, being *March.* 4*th*, the Meſſenger came again to us, and told us we muſt be ready preſently to be taken down to the Yacht, lying at *Greenwich*, and there Tranſported to *Scotland*! We asked, how it came, we were ſo ſurpriſed, and no Time was allowed us to prepare our ſelves? What unheard of Cruelty was this! he regarded it not, but ſaid, we muſt go preſently. However, through the Civility of the Keepers, ſome Friends were allowed to come in and ſee us; And about half an Hour thereafter, the Meſſenger came with one of the Chief Keepers, and ſome other Officers, came to us with Iron Cuffs, as they call them, Shackles to bind two and two of us together; and when they were offered, I demanded a ſight of their Warrand, or Order; without which I told them I would not go down Stairs, except they Dragged me, nor put on their Fetters except they would do it by force; For I looked upon their Violence as Robbery and no Law: Whereupon forthwith they ſnatched my Arm, and put on their Irons, and ſo all of us were bound two and two together. Then as they pretended to gratifie us, the Order was produced and Read, containing a Charge of High-Treaſon againſt us, for which we were to be carried to *Scotland*, and Tryed and Arraigned there according, to Law. Thereafter we were carried down to the Streets; and all our things we had in Priſon, as Bed, and Cloaths, and Chiſts, *&c.* were retained and ſeized upon; Our Friends never recovered any of them. To put the greater Diſgrace upon us (as they thought) they brought us out at the ſame Time that ſeveral Malefactors were brought out, to be carried to *Tyburn* to be Hanged, and led us in ſolemn Proceſſion, in Rank, two and two, through the Streets towards the River *Thames*, Multitudes of People gazing upon us, and enquiring, what Rogues were theſe? And what was our Crime? Some conjectured one thing, ſome another, according to their Fancy. We anſwered nothing? But one Gentlewoman that walked alongs in my Hand, Convoying me to the Boat, Anſwered very boldly, *This is for being at a Proteſtant Meeting, take heed to your ſelves, good People, ye ſee what Times we Live in.* So we were all put in two Boats being Eight in Number, and one of us very Sick, and continued all the Voyage ſo, and dyed within two days after our Arrival in *Scotland*. We were taken in at *Blackfriar's* Stairs, and ſhutting the Bridge, were brought to the Yacht at *Greenwich*, where there was a Party of Soldiers, all *Scotſmen*

of

of *Dumbarton's* Regiment, on Board, appointed to attend us, and go along with us for our Guard to *Scotland*. We lay at Anchor at *Greenwich* till towards Night, being fettered all the Time, where we had ſeveral Viſits of Friends from *London*, to whoſe Singular Kindneſs and Sympathy we were more obliged than I can expreſs, far leſs ſhall be able to requite: As indeed we were under many Obligations, to leave that Teſtimony of the *Engliſh* Profeſſing People, that, for Courteſie and Tender-bearing of Burdens with the Afflicted, they are Singular, and far ſurpaſs all Experience, elſewhere.

Before Night they weighed, and fell down the River. Next Morning we were at Sea: The Name of the Yacht was, *The Kithen-Yacht*, Captain *Crow* Commander. We had a Tollerable Paſſage to *Holy Iſland*, being there on the LORD's Day. Then the Wind taking us ſhort, we came to an Anchor, and rode out a great Storm for three Days. Next Day we weighed, and ſailed betwixt the *Baſs* and the Shore, and were ſaluted with five or ſeven Guns from the Gariſon: About Two or Three a Clock in the Morning following, we let go the Anchor in *Leith*-Road, *March* 12th. It was a very ſad and weary Voyage; my Comrads being all Sea-ſick and wanting Accommodation of Cabbins to ly in: We never ſhifted our ſelves all the Time; nor, which was ſaddeſt, had we any Conveniency for Exerciſe, but in the Night-time and one of our Comrads was extreamly Sick, and Raving in the Height of a Fever all the way. But after we came to Sea, all our Shackles were taken off us, and a Sentinel ſet, with a Sword in his Hand, at our Cabbin Door, all the Voyage. After we came to an Anchor in *Leith*-Road, as ſoon as it was Light, we were again faſtened two and two with our Cuffs. And before Night, the Yacht was halled in to the Harbour: Where a great Confluence of People gathered upon the Shoar to gaze at us, and ſome came in to ſee us, among whom was my Mother and Brother weeping upon me: When the Guard came, which was a Company of Grenadeers, we were delivered over to them, and by them carried to *Edinburgh*-Tolbooth. I was the firſt that came to Shoar, and as ſoon as I ſet my Foot upon the Land, a Fellow took me by the Arm and graſped me ſtraitly: I asked him, why he pinched me ſo hard? and prayed him to be Civil; His Anſwer was, as civil (ſaid he) as Powder and Lead will be, and as I ought to be to all Traitors. We had procured a Coach for our ſick Comrade, and then were Guarded on Foot our ſelves, and were received into the Tolbooth about Eight a Clock at Night: And after a little repoſe in the Hall, were put up altogether in the Gentlemans Chamber, (as they called it,) where were about Thirty Priſoners, ſo crowding the Room, that we could not get a bit to ſit down in. There we were told our Ha-

zards,

wards, and what we might expect to be Examined about, and were certified, that if we would not own the King's Authority, and take the Oath of *Abjuration*, there could be no ſaving of our Lives, unto which generally all of them did perſwade us; and that Night they ſhewed us a Late Indemnity, but ſo clogged with Exceptions, and clagged with cunningly-covered ſnares, that it was ſmall Comfort to me. Theſe Diſcourſes ſpent much of the Night: Yet, through the LORD's Kindneſs to me, I was well ſupported, and rather longed for, than feared the Approach of the Enſuing Day, though we knew nothing, but expected a very quick and cruel Diſpatch: In the latter part of the Night, I ſlept as ſoundly as ever I did all my Days. Next Day I began my ſorrowful and enſnaring Examinations, which had ſuch a Various, and (to me) aſtoniſhing Iſſue, which I cannot, without Horrour, reflect upon. Yet, as I drew them all up in Minutes, after they paſt, I ſhall here inſert them in Order, with my Reflections on them afterwards.

My Firſt Examination before the Privy Council of Scotland, March 13. 1685

THIS Day I was carried before a Committee of the Council, in Order to Examination; whereof now I will give this ſhort and confuſed, but true and ingenuous Account, and that as near as may be, in the very Order and Terms of the Queſtions and Anſwers, as my Diſordered Memory can recollect them. But as to the Purpoſe, I ſhall not prevaricate, by adding or impairing any thing Material; and this I have thought needful to communicate, for the Information of ſuch as are concerned, or inquiſitive about me, to know the Cauſe of the Speciality of my Reſtraint; leſt I ſhould be lyable to Odious or Invidious Miſrepreſentations, on any Hand.

At my firſt Introduction, the Queſtions were as follow: *Q. Is Your Name Mr.* Alex. Shields? *Anſ.* Yes. *Q. Are you a Merſe-man?* Yes. *Q. Was you taken at a Conventicle in* London? *A.* Yes, I was taken at a Meeting for the Worſhip of GOD, which however it be now Obnoxious, yet I prize it above my Liberty, or deareſt Enjoyments in the World. Then one of their Lordſhips told me, *Well, You was taken for that, but now, being a* Scots-Man, *you are ſent down to us, upon Suſpicion, to be tryed.* *A.* My Lord; if it be ſo criminal to be a *Scots-Man*, then it is a Myſtery indeed, but very diſhonourable to our Country. *Well, but your Loyalty is ſuſpected; and therefore you muſt be interrogate, Whether you will own the Authority of the preſent King, or not?* *A.* My Lords, the Queſtion is ſurpriſing, and I am in a very Bad Capacity to anſwer; I would hope your Lordſhips would take ſome Cognizance of my preſent Indiſpoſition of Body

Body, and Diſcompoſure of Spirit, occaſioned by our long Toſſings and Hurryings, without any Repoſe, out of a Naſty Tumultuous Priſon, to a Troubleſome Voyage at Sea, where we could have no Conveniency for Sleep, and from Sea to a Priſon again, where we have far leſs; and the Matter is of great Moment, and your Queſtions that you ſeem to be about to poſe me with, are difficult, and may be of dangerous Conſequence to me; and therefore require ſome more Deliberation. They replyed, *We cannot help that. You have had Time enough to conſider of it. But will you own the Authority, or not?* *A.* Let me firſt underſtand, what I am charged with againſt the Authority, either as to Principle or Practice, I am here to vindicate my ſelf, or be ſubject to the Law. It was replyed, *Theſe Evaſions will not do; we came not here to charge you with any thing, but to examine you: Will you own the Authority, or not?* *A.* You may as well pick any Man off the Street, and queſtion him about theſe things. They anſwered, *They might do it by the Law of* Scotland; *and that all the Subjects thereof are obliged to anſwer poſitively.* I anſwered, They would take it as a very illegal Impoſition, except they were charged with ſome-thing. *They urged, They would take it as Conſenting, and hold me as Convicted, if I did not anſwer poſitively.* I anſwered, I plead only for that Priviledge common to all Mankind, the Freedom of the Thoughts, which I judge are not ſubject to any Tribunal on Earth; but I do not care, if my Heart were unboweled to the World, and if it were, I truſt my Sentiments of theſe Matters are ſuch, as I would not be aſhamed, or afraid to own and avouch before any Man. Q. *Freedom! Is it free for any Subject to diſown the King?* *A.* I am not yet charged with diſowning him. Q. *You muſt anſwer to the Queſtion: Will you own or diſown the Authority of the King?* *A.* I would be reſolved of another Queſtion, or two, that is, *What you underſtand by Authority?* and what you mean by *owning?* They anſwered, *The Queſtion is plain.* I ſaid, I did not underſtand the Deſign of it. Q. *Why ſo?* *A.* Becauſe the Queſtion is ambiguous, and capable of different Senſes: For, either by Authority you mean, That as it is at preſent eſtabliſhed and adminiſtred; and if ſo, there are many things that I cannot own in it; or you underſtand his Legal Right to it; and if ſo, then I would underſtand what you mean by *owning* of that? For, if by owning you mean a *paſſive Subjection*, I ſtoop to the Holy Providence, that hath given him the Poſſeſſion, I think that's enough to me: But if you mean an active Acknowledgement of his Hereditary Right, I think it an Impoſition, to be bound, to give my Thoughts of it: I came not to diſpute his Right. They replyed, *That any Body would ſay the ſame of an Uſurper.* I asked, What muſt be underſtood by it then? One of their

their Lordships answered, *That by owning his Authority, I behoved to own it unlawful, to rise in Arms against the King, upon any Pretence whatsoever.* I answered, That if that be the Meaning, I durst not own it, without a palpable abandoning of Reason, and disowning that innate Principle of self Defence, and Priviledge of preserving Humane Liberties. Q. *Where did you ever read in Scripture, That People did ever rise in Arms against their King? or did ever justifie any such Thing?* A. I am not to dispute that Point now: And if I were, I trust I could produce both Scripture and Reason for it: And tho' it could not be deduced from express Scripture, whose Purpose is to reveal, and regulate us in greater Matters, yet one of CHRIST's Laws could never contradict another, the Law of Revelation can never be against the Law of Nature. His Lordship answered, *True, but the one is corrected by the other.* A. I grant, but correcting is not contradicting. But, my Lord, said I, I desire to wave that Debate, and if there be any Crime charged against me, I desire it may be instructed and made good. It was replyed, *You will not own the King's Authority.* A. My Lord, is that Treason? I am accused of Treason, I thought always Treason had been an elicit or overt Act. It was replyed, *That was an overt Act, when you will not own Authority when commanded.* A. My Lord, I must be better informed first, what *owning Authority* is. The other Lord answered, *It is to take the Oath of Allegiance.* I answered, That is strange! If it be so, *I* am not clear till my Scruples be solved. The other Lord said, *What! will you not own him, as now by Succession possessed, on the Throne of his Predecessors?* A. If that be the Meaning of it, I own it, and am now actually subject. Then the Advocate, Sir *George M'kenzie* being present; One of them said, My Lord Advocate, I think you must take this Man through Hand. Then he said, *I perceive, Mr.* Shields, *you are in a great Error, and will run your self in great Danger, if you be not aware.* A. Sir, if I knew how to avoid it, I would. So he again resumed the Question, and I answered to the same Purpose, as before. Then said he, *None will refuse to own Authority, but the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and some of our Wild-Folks of assassinating Principles: None of the Gentlemen that came Prisoners from* London, *but they owned it, and* Jervis wood *expresly owned it.* A. Sir, I do not refuse to own Authority, I think it an excellent Ordinance of GOD, wherein much of the Divine Majesty is impressed, when improved for the Ends for which it is appointed; only I decline to answer; because the Question, I think, is ambiguous, and I would preserve all the Liberty *I* have, that is, of my Thoughts: And as for the Practice of other Gentlemen, *I* am not concerned, every one is free in that Matter: But for *Jervis wood*, when *I* am legally charged with any Practice, or Design against the Government, *I* shall desire to be as free

as I can, in giving my Sentiments, according to my Understanding. *But*, said he, *it is not here as in England; every Subject is bound to answer to such Questions, or else to be held as guilty. There is the Opinion of the Lords of Session for it.* *A.* I am very ignorant of the Law; but Reason seems to say, it is no Consequence, because a Man will not tell what he thinks, therefore he is Guilty. Then turning to the Lords, My Lords, said I, I hope, your Lordships will not prey, or take Advantage of my ignorance of the Law, I desire the Benefit of it, and the Priviledge of a Man, of a Christian, and of a Subject, that's all. One of them replyed, *You are a very bad Lawyer, and as bad a Christian, and no Privilege is due to any that will not own the Authority.* *A.* As for my Christianity, I assert, That in my Practice, I have endeavoured to keep a good Conscience void of Offence towards God, and towards Man; and my Principles are none, but according to Truth and Soberness: But as for the Priviledge of a Subject, I do not see how I should be denied it, till I be convicted a Rebel. Sir *George* said, *All are accounted the King's Enemies, who will not own his Authority.* *A.* Sir, I humbly conceive, there is a *Medium*, and should rather think, all are in Charity to be thought his Friends, who do not disown it, as it cannot be proved I have done yet. *Q. Say, Will you own it or not?* *A.* I plead first for the Liberty of the Mind; and next for better understanding of the Terms. Sir *George* said, *Will you acknowledge his Right to be King, and that he is rightful King of* Scotland, *&c.* *A.* I think these Questions ly out of my Sphere, and that every private Man should not dive into the ARCANA IMPERII. He said, *That was Nonsense, and that there was no Arcanum in the King's undoubted Right.* And so harangued a little upon that Theme, and the Perniciousness of that Principle, that disowned it. I answered for that which was open and patent to the World, I own that he is proclaimed King of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*. He replied, *That the greatest Enemies he hath would own that.* I answered, I judge the greatest Friends he hath can own no more, being he is not yet crowned. They stormed at that: And then I said, When the Authority is legally devolved upon him, by the Representatives of both Kingdoms, then it is Time enough for me to give an Account of my Sentiments about it, if they were of any Significancy. Then said one of the Lords, *Nay, he would not own the Authority of K.* Charles *the 2d neither.* *That was the Question at* London, said he; *but now will ye not own the the Authority of K.* James *7th.* *A.* I am not free to answer otherwise than I have done. Then said Sir *George*, *All the World cannot save you from hanging.* *A.* I think there is one can save me, and if not, all the World cannot save it from Murder. *Q. What do you think of* Bothwel-Bridge *Rebellion?* *A.* That is only my Opinion you ask: I am not

free

free at this Time. Then they spoke some thing among themselves I could not hear. Q. *Do you think it Lawful to assassinate any for opposing Presbyterian Government?* A. I know none of that Opinion, and I have not declared mine. Q. *Did not you say at London at your Examination, That you owned the Covenant as his Oath of Allegiance?* (This was only a Mistake, because the Words of my Answer were set down, relating to me in the third Person by Sir *Andrew Forrester*.) A. I said no such thing; though now I say, It was his Oath of Allegiance to God; but I said, it was our Oath of Allegiance. They replied disdainfully, *Ours we deny it to be.* I answered, But it was ours, that is, mine and others. Then they threatned again, upon which, I only desired a Legal Prosecution: Whereupon they only threatned me again, and dismissed me. And so I was removed from my Fellow-Prisoners, into the Iron-House, a close Prisoner. This is the Substance of my Examination, and the whole Purpose of it, as I can remember.

In this, I cannot but adore the Wisdom of the Lord's Conduct, but with blushing at the Folly of mine. I was indeed determined, I think, by a Sovereign Hand, and led upon this Not-usually-trodden Path, by Truth's Confessors, beyond my ordinary *Genius*, or Inclination, to fence with those kinds of long Weapons, declining direct Answers, which is the most difficult Road, and most lyable to Snares, and wherein it is more hard to avoid wronging of Truth, than the plain and open-hearted Way, which is usually branded by the World with Folly, though often attended with more gracious Assistance, and a more honourable Issue. Yet I cannot altogether condemn prudent waving *Categorical* Answers, to insnaring, and imposing Questions; for that Way hath been consecrated by the greatest of Truth's Witnesses some times; yea, even by Our Blessed Lord Jesus himself, the Captain of our Salvation, *who witnessed a good Confession before* Pontius Pilat; and yet several times in his Trials, waved a direct Answer; and followed by *Paul*, who pleaded the Law and legal Privileges as a Man, as a *Jew*, and as a *Roman*, till it came to the Case of Confession, when a waving or declining would have been interpreted a denying of the Truth, or Matter of their Testimony in their Day. That which induced me to this kind of Dealing, was, that I would fain have had the State of my Sufferings founded upon some Word of Christ's Patience, purely religious, and positively Truth or Duty, and not upon State Matters: And in that Case, I thought I could with a great deal of cheerful Confidence speak my Mind of it; and give a Reason of my Faith and Hope to every Man that asked: But to venture my Life upon Matters so apparently extrinsick to Religion, (as I was tempted to think) was to me a confounding Difficulty, and

a great Demur to my resolved Plainness, through the whole Tract of my Trials, especially at the Beginning. Now this I reflect upon, as my great Weakness: *First*, To think that a Man can have the Choice of the State of his Sufferings, or that he may pick and wile out any Head relative to Truth, which he may suffer upon, or shift, as he pleaseth. Upon more deliberate Consideration, I am made to think, he can no more determine the State or Head of his Sufferings, than the Time, Method, Measure, or Manner of them; for all these are Circumstances not in a Man's Option to dispose. Next, I reflect on it as my Weakness, that I could not see the great concerning and momentuous Importance of these Matters, and the Interest Religion hath in them, to be strenuously testified for, by all the Lovers of CHRIST: For the Question about owning Authority, is not a small Matter, nor only Civil, though it be *circa Civilia*, but concerning a great Ordinance of GOD, *Magistracie*, which is now so manifestly perverted, that as it is now established, and exercised, and invested in the Usurper's Claim to it, is nothing but pure and perfect Tyranny; which to own, or acknowledge in Conscience (for every judicial Declaration of a Christian's Mind, must be in Conscience, as in the Sight of GOD) is not far from Blasphemy, and is a base abandoning and prostituting all the deares and neares Privileges of Mankind, to the Lusts of their declared Enemies, for Fear of their Threats, which is most unworthy of a Christian, who is more than a Man, and more a Man than other Men; and besides, I cannot but think, I was very far short of my Duty, considering how this same very Question hath been the Matter of the Testimony of many dear to GOD, *Who loved not their Lives unto the Death*, but willingly sacrificed them upon this very Point; that I was not plainer herein, as if I had despised, and thought it unworthy of my poor Testimony too: And that I had not the right Uptakings of the Enemy's Designs, which by the Help of Hell's Contrivance, are levelled against Religion, not directly and formally under that Notion, but obliquely in the Destruction of the Lovers and Professors of it, under the Name and *Odium* of being Enemies to Government, which if I had rightly considered, I would have thought it my Duty, to have been more explicit, to have studied to answer rather to the Scope and Tendency, than to the Term and Tenor of their Interrogations, by such Evasions as mine were. But more particularly, for this Examination, I reflect on these Escapes. (1.) I think I should have either been more plain, in answering all the Questions ingenuously, which in those Circumstances at my first Appearance before them, I could not see it Duty; or more prudent in answering all alike, and stood to that Privilege, which I began to plead for, *The Libertie of the Mind*, for no Law could have extorted it. (2d.) I think

think in one particular, I did fooliſhly and unfaithfully, in anſwering to that, about that worthy Gentleman and honoured Martyr Mr. *Robert Baillie* of *Jerviſwood*, That when I ſhould be legally charged with any Practice or Deſign againſt the Government, *&c.* which though my Record is on High, I intended it not, yet it carries a tacite Inſinuation, that he was legally charged with, and convicted of theſe Things; at leaſt it hath an Appearance of a dreadful Evil, no leſs than an indirect conſenting to, and Approbation of his Murder. (*3d.*) Upon a Review of theſe Things, I find in my Opinion more of Equivocation, than poſſible may well ſuite a Profeſſion of Goſpel Simplicity.

In the Iron-Houſe I was let alone for Ten Days; where I had very comfortable and peaceable Societies though very much Crowded with Multitudes of ſeveral ſorts, and ſeverals being there in Irons. The Keepers were very rude, coming always in to tell us and ſearch our Room and Beds lying upon the Ground, for Inſtruments (as they pretended) wherewith we might break the Priſon, with drawn Swords; Eſpecially one *Denholm*, who one Day commanding me imperiouſly to riſe off my Bed, becauſe I was not ſo ready in obeying, and becauſe with-al, when he ſwore, I reproved him for it, he pointed his drawn Sword to my Breaſt, and ſwore he would run me through. And becauſe I told him he durſt not, and that I would not be Hectored with him, he raged moſt inſolently, yet was reſtrained from Violence. I was every Day looking for being called out before the Juſticiary, and then knew no better, but that it ſhould be to get my Sentence of Death, for I was ignorant of the Form of their Laws. At length after Ten Days, upon *March* 23d all my Comrads in the Gentleman's Chamber, that had come from *England* with me, and I, alſo were called and carried by a Party of the Town-Guards, to the Court of Juſticiary, where we only ſaw one another again, but could not Converſe together. That Day all the reſt took the Oath of *Abjuration*, and ſo eſcaped further Proceſs for that Time. But that Day did not my Buſineſs. The Purport of my Examination was as follows.

My firſt Criminal Examination before the Juſticiary, March 23d, 1685.

I Would hereby notifie and make known to all my Friends, who are Friends to our common LORD and Maſter, and Law-giver and to his Righteous and Noble Cauſe, as now Stated, and in Agitation betwixt Him and His declared Enemies (that Faction now prevailing, and poſſeſſing the Places of Publick Ruſe in the Nation) for their Information and my own Exoneration, to the end, Invidious Miſreports may be prevented. I ſay, to them, who are concerned in the Cauſe, and concerned to know the cauſe of my Sufferings, I would offer this true Re-

Repreſentation of my Interrogations. I was called to anſwer this Day, being the 23d of *March* 1685, before the Lords of Juſticiary (as they were Termed to me, though I could diſcover nothing among them deſerving ſo Honourable a Signature) whereof this is as full an Account as I can Recollect at the Time, though therein I cannot aſtrict my ſelf to the Order or Method of the Queſtions (which were Immethodical, as well as impertinent) yet all theſe were their Queſtions, and all theſe were my Anſwers, without Prevarication.

I Stood firſt at ſome diſtance, when brought before them: Then I was commanded to draw nearer. And then the Clerk firſt moved the Queſtion, *What was your Father's Name?* Anſ. *James.* Q. *What is your own?* A. *Alexander.* Q. *Are you not* James Shields *Son of* Haugh-head? A. yes, I was Born in *Haugh-head.* Q. *Did not you know Captain* Hall *of* Haugh-head? A. I know no ſuch Man where I was Born. The Advocat Sir *George M'kenzie* asked, *Was you at* Bothwel? A. You muſt prove that, if it be my Crime. It was Replyed. *That we can do in a very ſhort Time within Eight Days.* A. I believe it will be very hard. Replyed they, *it needs not much Probation, ſince you are in the Fugitive Roll.* A. You may put me in what Roll you pleaſe, every Printed Roll is not Truth, nor the proof of Truth: Replyed they, *You cannot ſay againſt it, you was Legally Summoned before the Circuit-Court, and your abſence was ſufficient Conviction by the Laws of the Kingdom?* A. I know no ſuch Laws, I received no ſuch Summonds, and I am here to anſwer to my Legal Conviction. Sir *George* then had a Harrangue, declaring that the Buſineſs at preſent was only to Report to their Lordſhips how that I had been before a Committee of the Council, and declined to anſwer, and therefore they were to Examine me further. And therefore ſaid he, *You are to declare whether you will own that Treaſonable Declaration, emitted latelie by ſome Rebels, in ſo far as it declares a War againſt the late King* Charles 2d? A. I think it hard to be impoſed upon to give my Judgment of it, being not concerned; I think it ſtrange to be hurried ſo always in to ſuch Interrogatories, without any Advertiſement or Time to conſider. As I was hurried out of *Nevvgate*-Priſon, without being acquainted whither I was to go. So when I arrived here, I was haſtened to anſwer before the Council, having no Time to deliberate, nor Knowledge of the Crime to be Charged; and now this Day, not a moment's Time to Adviſe. Replyed they; *You ſhall not be hurried, but vve vvould have you to knovvu that you muſt Anſvver.* A. I ſee it a Miſery to be a *Scotſman*; I have been in ſeveral Places of the World, but I never heard of ſuch things impoſed upon any Man. Replyed Sir *George*: *It is a Miſerie to have to do vvith ſuch Raſcals as you are?* A. Its not proved wherein I am a Raſcal. Replyed they, *do not murder your ſelf, we are free of your Blood, let it be upon*

your

your own Head, if you do not answer otherways. I said nothing, at least I cannot remember what I said. Q. *Will you Subscribe this Paper* (which was the Testificate or Pass declaring by Oath the *Abjuration* of the said Paper, which by mistake they presented to me) *and you shall have your Liberty?* A. Its full of blanks, I do not understand it, its the first time ever I saw it, I never Read it, and therefore cannot Subscribe it implicitly. Replyed, *The Blanks are onlie for your Name, and Place, and Parish, &c. The meaning is to Abjure that Declaration, and to Own and Swear you shall never Rise in Arms against the KING.* This was said by one that sate next me. Ans. I cannot take it in that Sense, I dare not Swear any such thing absolutely. Repl. Sir *George, you must give your positive Answer against* Wednesday *next, and according to it, you are to be Tried, and shall Die on* Friday *following.* I was silent, then said one of the Lords, we will give you the Declaration, and that Pass, to consider upon it till then, Read it, and Ponder it. So I received it, but did not look upon it then. But afterwards found, that instead of that *Declaration*, they had given me their own *Proclamation* about it; for that it was put to me to give my Judgement of their Sentiments and Representation of it, and not of the thing it self: Then they urged, *That by the Law of all Nations, when there is any War declared against the King, all the Subjects are to declare whom they are for, and if they will not declare for him and disown the Rebels; then they are to be reputed as his Enemies?* Ans. It may be so in the Time of War, for such Subjects as are Present in the Kingdom, but not for the Absent, after the War is ceased, to give their Opinion about it, when not concerned in it. Q. *How is the War ceased, these Rebels are going about the Country, still Killing* &c.? Ans. I know nothing of that, I am not with them you see: but I think the War is ceased, because the Object is ceased, King *Charles* is Dead. Repl. *Is it not the Person Invested, but Authority it self that they declare against:* Ans. I Judge it must be the Person, for as I understand, they Name him. Repl. *What do you talk of Naming him? What is done against the former, concerns all succeeding in Authority.* Ans. I do not yet understand that they have declared War against King *James 7th.* Repl. *Do you hold your self under more Obligations to own King* James *7th. than King* Charles *2d.* Ans. *No,* I think it all one upon the Matter: But if I be obliged to give my Opinion about a War, declared against a King deceased and gone, then by the same Parity of Reason, I must give my Opinion of that War of the Lords of the Congregation (as they were called) against Queen *Mary*, when they deposed her, in the beginning of the Reformation; what am I concerned with that? Nothing was answered, but some Fretted, and some Smiled one to another. Then said one of the Lords, *When*

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any War is Declared againſt the King, any of His Majeſty's Soldiers may Queſtion any Man, whom he is for? And if he be not for the King, he may Act againſt him as an Enemy. That's ſomething of the Law *Martial*, which I do not well underſtand; but no Reaſon will allow, after the War is Finiſhed, the ſame to be acted againſt any Perſon not preſent at theſe Tranſactions. Repl. *All Subjects are Subjects, be where they will, and Intereſted in the War of the Kingdom, whereof they are Subjects; and therefore you muſt be concerned in it, wherever you were.* Anſ. I know not where I was, when that War was declared, but well I know, I could not be concerned, before I knew of it: And I know nothing of it, but as others (the leaſt concerned) by common Report. Q. *What did you think of it when you knew of it? Will you own it now?* Anſ. I had my own Thoughts of it as others had, but was not concerned. And I think I may be as well obliged to give my Opinion of Count *Tekli's* declaring War againſt the *Emperor.* Nothing was ſaid to this, as I Remember. Q. *Was not you in* Franequer *then?* Anſ. No, I was never there. Q. *Was you in* Groningen? Anſ. Never. Replyed one ſitting by, *Are not you in a Lie now? Your Confeſſion at* London, *ſays, you were in* Holland! Anſ. *Holland* is not *Franequer* nor *Groningen*, and of theſe I ſaid nothing. Sir *George Mackenzie* ſaid then, *let us not Triffle, proceed to the next* Q. *Do you own the Authority or not?* Anſ. I cannot Anſwer otherwiſe than I did. Then Sir *George* made an Invictive by way of Report of my Anſwers to the Lords. Then they held out the Danger of it to me. I anſwered, I would conſult Duty and Conſcience in theſe things, and durſt not be implicit in ſuch Impoſitions. They Spoke many Times together, I deſired leave to Anſwer one at a Time. So they urged again. Anſ. I endeavoured to plead before the Council, and do now plead for that Priviledge common to Mankind, *the freedom of the Thoughts*, Subject to no Tribunal under Heaven; for that is the Almighty's Prerogative. Repl. *It is not his Prerogative there is no ſuch freedom left to any to decline to Anſwer ſuch a Queſtion.* *Anſ.* Your Lordſhips know, Men have ſeveral Sentiments about Authority, but none were ever queſtioned for them when not declared, or were ever forced to declare them, eſpecially about Succeſſion, that ever I heard of before. Replyed Sir *George*, *That were Intollerable if it were left to the freedom of every Man to entertain ſuch Sentiments; or to diſown Authority when they pleaſe, no Man could be ſure of his Life; that Freedom would deſtroy humane Society.* *Anſ.* I have not yet declared my Sentiments, nor diſowned Authority. And I think no Man can be ſure of his Life or any Liberty, if he muſt abandon that innate Freedom; and be queſtioned for his thoughts, when no Practice can be charged againſt him. Replyed Sir *George*, *you are a Bruit to talk at that Rate, you know not the Laws of the Kingdom.* *Anſ.* My Lords, I hope you are ſo much Men, and of ſuch Generoſity

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and Justice, as not to take advantage of a poor Man, for his Ignorance of your Laws. My Innocency makes me confident. Repl. *You shall have Justice.* And then several gave in their Word that I cannot particularly Remember. *Ans.* my Lords, I hope you will take so much Cognizance of the King's Charge against me at *London*, which was high Treason, as not to balk it, without instructing and making Proof of it. Repl. *We fear it shall be too soon proved.* Ans. That way can never prove it, by extorting my Thoughts of things. Repl. *The Laws and Acts of Parliament reach Mens Thoughts, and obliges all Subjects to give an account of them about such things.* Ans. I know no such Laws. Then Order was given to the Clerk to read the Acts of Parliament, who turned over, and could not find the Act; then began to read an Act, which was told him was not it; then he went to another, and read it, which did help much to confirm and establish my aversation to Answer affirmatively to that Question, of owning the present Authority. It gave an account, *That whereas in the late Troubles, before the King's Restauration (meaning in the Time of the Prosperiey of the Work of Reformation) People were led into seditious Practices, by having such Rebellious Principles disseminated among them; Namely, That it was lawful to rise in Arms against the King! To come with their Petitions and Representations of Grievances to him, to Suspend their Allegiance and Owning the King's Authority, under such and such Limitations, until he give Security for Religion and Liberty, &c.* (With many other Laudable and Excellent Principles of our Fore-fathers) *Be it therefore Enacted, that all such Positions and Practices founded thereupon are Treasonable, &c.* Mark that, said Sir *George*. Ans. *It* does not concern me, for it speaks of Positions, when declared, not of Thoughts. They laid down the Book and gave it over. Sir *George* said, *Its folly to Prattle with him, in his Metaphysical Notions.* Then said he, *did you ever see any Converted of this way? I* was silent. then they urged the Question again, which *I* waved. Well, said Sir *George*, *You must be ready against to Morrow at Twelve a Clock to Answer here.* You said before, *I* must appear on *Wednesday*. Replyed the Lords, *Well, let it be on Wednesday, we will give you Time.* Ans. When you will, *I* beg no Time. Then they would have dismissed me; but said *I*, before *I* go, *I* would be resolved of the Genuine Sense, you put upon the Question of owning Authority; it may contribute much for your Exoneration and my Information. Repl. Let the Advocat give it. Sir *George* then laid, *You must own the King to be lawful King by Succession, &c.* Ans. The Reason of my Enquiry is, because when *I* was before the Lords of the Council, they were pleased to put three different Senses upon it; one was, *That I should own it unlawful on any Pretence to rise in Arms, &c.* Another was, *To Swear the Oath of Allegiance.* A third was, *To own his actual Possession by Succession,*

to the Throne of his Ancestors. This last I owned, and indeed I think it capable of ambiguous Senses. And so I repeated what I had said before at the Council, in distinguishing between the Administration of the Authority and the Right to it; and of owning between Passive Subjection, and Conscientious Acknowledgement of *Allegiance*, as required. Sir *George* said, *Neither do we own all the Administrations.* Ans. Neither do I. But I understand, several's have died upon this Head, being urged with such a Question about owning Authority; and it is evident to all Men by their Answers, that it was never charged to them, but that they meaned the Administration of the Authority, as now Established, for they offered such Limitations, *As in the LORD; and, according to the Word*, which your selves cannot deny, and yet their Lives were taken. I do not remember any thing they Answered to this. But urged, *what say you to his Right?* Ans. I came not to dispute his Right. Then they commanded, *Take him away.* I concluded with this; My Lords, I have been grieved several times, to hear such Reflections on the Severity of the *Scotch* Laws, and the intollerable Grievances of your Prosecutions, without all Precedent; and I hope you will not in your proceedings with me, be Ambitious to deserve that Character. Then they houted at me, and going away, I Spoke with a loud Voice back again, you were Reflected on at *London*, in *Guild-hall.* Then they called me back and asked by whom? Ans. By the *Recorder* of *London.* Q. *What is his Name?* A. Sir *Thomas Jenner.* Replyed Sir *George*, *He is a Rascal.* But what said he? Ans. He said, Inveighing against us, that the Severity of our Laws, made us flee our Country; for there they could Extort by Torture, any thing without Proof, but now we came to abuse their Mild Laws. At which they were divided in putting several Constructions on the Sence of his Words. And so with a Re-injunction to me, to consider the Paper against *Wednesday.* They urged me to be taken out, and thereafter when the rest were all Examined, I was carried back to Prison.

From the Iron-House in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh *this was written.*

ALbeit I cannot transcribe these Accounts, without blushing at my own Folly and Imperfections, therein very obviously apparent, yet I cannot but reflect on the Mercy of the LORD's holy and wise Conduct, that I miscarried not worse, and was not yet left to be catched in these cunningly covered Hooks, that I was then nibbling and biting at: Nay further, I must needs say, to the Commendation of Free Grace, of which I had then some sensible Experience (though alas! quickly afterwards I miscarried, forgot and miserably misimproved these little Experiences, by distrusting the LORD, and leaning to my own blind Understanding) that far beyond my own preconceived Advisements

ments and Premeditations, I was led to speak these things, though in themselves simple, yet serving then to put by Snares, and Tentations in that Hour: And further I dare not but say, That as through Grace I was made to hope in that Promise, of *giving in that Hour what to say*: So it was in some Measure fulfilled; for I had thought on many Things to say; but was carried by all of them unto the foresaid Discourse, which before I did not dream of; this I take Notice of by the way, to aggrege my future Fainting: Yet I have much the same Reflections on this, that I have declared on the former. And particularly (1.) I observe, That though there may be Virtue in a dexterous putting by of Snares, where there is Hope thereby to elude them; yet it is sometimes dangerous, to seek a Delay of Time, when there can be no Prospect of avoiding them; for thereby we but animate them into a Keenness to impose, and encourage them in Expectation of catching, and invite them to contrive their Snares, and prepare them for us with the greater Cunning. And so I think my complaining of want of Time to deliberate, &c. was but a prepostrous shifting. It had been more honourable for the Cause, and more honest-like, and possibly more conducing to my own Safety and Peace, to have offered roundly, as the Lord would assist, an open hearted and generous Declaration of my Mind about these Points, and to have shown that I was (as I should have been always) *ready to give a Reason of my Hope, to every Man that would ask it; with Meekness and Fear, having a good Conscience; that whereas they speak evil of us, as of Evil-doers* (by these Aspersions wherewith they brand us, as maintaining dangerous Principles, and justifying unwarrantable Practices, and the like) *they might have been put to Shame, that falsely accuse our good Conversation in CHRIST.* (2.) I think it was some Diversion from the *Gospel Simplicity*, and the *Dove's Innocency* (the Beauty of Sufferers) and no great Wisdom in me, to pretend Ignorance of that which I knew; to wit, that *Declaration*. It's true I did neither affirm nor deny, that I had seen it; but that I had not seen that *Pass* or *Testificate*, which they ignorantly tendered to me. Yet I pretended want of Advisement, and took their Papers from them, which they offered for my Information, thereby I gave them Ground of schooling me better, and involving myself needlessly in further Debates and Snares, which I found in the Consequent afterwards. I will not say, it is in it self sinful, to conceal our Knowledge; but I think in my Circumstances then, I should have given a more ingenuous Discovery of my Knowledge. (3.) I think, I should have more zealously adhered to that Principle, I was pleading, *The Freedom of Thoughts*, subject to no such Tribunal as theirs was, being the Almighty's Prerogative alone, to know Thoughts, and to pass Judg-

ment on Thoughts, which then I was obliged to witness far more strenuously, when publickly it was denied in open Court to be his Prerogative, which was horrid Blasphemy. This was a shameful Omission, that I cannot pass without Indignation. (*4th.*) I cannot omit here a Reflection, which had I kept in Mind afterwards, I would have been more awfully deterred from tampering with that Snare, which shortly thereafter I fell into, and my Unmindfulness of it, does much magnifie the Sense of the Guilt of that Compliance, which is this; That I might have been informed how they construct of a Man's taking *the Oath of Abjuration*; for it was told me plainly, That the meaning, was *to abjure that Declaration, and thereby to own and swear, that I should never rise in Arms against the King*; by which it is plain, that in either Sense, the taking of that Oath, is an interpretative declaring not to rise, or that it ought not to be done. Again afterwards it was urged, *That by the Law of all Nations, when there is any War declared against the King, all Subjects are to declare whom they are for; and if they will not declare for him, and disown the Rebels, then they are to be reputed as his Enemies:* By which it appears, that they take the Abjuring of that Declaration (in this Juncture) to be *a Declaring for the King*; which in the present State of Affairs, is a most dreadful owning CHRIST's Enemies, and concerting his Quarrel, and stated Opposition against all Righteousness; and this *Abjuration* is tendered as a *Test of our Incorporating our selves with this perjured, perfidious Partie, and formally declaring our selves for their Head, and siding with them and him.* And they take it also to be a disowning of, and renouncing our Part in, and among a poor Remnant of the LORD's People, persecuted and murthered by them, for Truth and Conscience sake. Now an Oath must be taken in the Imposers Sense, and as they discover their Sense and Sentiments of it, and not according to the meaning we may think the Words capable of; nor yet according to the wheedling Explications, that they may give or allow, which were as deceitful and ensnaring as the Oath it self. I insert this to infix the Shame of my after-Deed, upon my self. Before I shut up this, I cannot forget that Passage of telling them, of the *Recorder* of *London* his Invective against the Severity of their Proceedings, and the Return I had thereupon. I remember I wrote this to my Friends in *London*, who conveyed it to the *Recorder's* Ears, that the King's Advocate had called him a *Rascal*, upon that Occasion before hinted. And as I received information from them again, the Recorder upon hearing of this, called the Advocate a *Knave*, which was a fair Reckoning, and not much besides the Truth on either Hand.

From the *Monday* until *Wednesday*, I remained in the *Iron-House*, preparing my self (as I thought and aimed) for the worst of it, expecting that

that Week should be the last on this Side of Time; but the Number of my Months was not yet fulfilled, nor the Measure of my sinning and suffering, which since ensued. The Lord did not think me worthy of so honourable a Demission at that Time, nor after that Manner, as I was then looking for; and indeed (I may say) hoping, rather than fearing: But I behoved to get further Discoveries of my Weakness, Folly and Faintness, which followed upon this, which now I am about to relate.

My second Examination before the Justiciary, March 25th. 1685.

THis Day the 25th of this instant *March* 1685, I was before the *Justiciarie*, or *Criminal Court* the second Time; upon which, because some unexpected Changes in my Lot did ensue, which may make some desirous to know the Cause of them; Therefore to all concerned I would offer this rude (but true-) *Representation* of the most material Passages of that Affair, and how it came to this Period, wherein yet I stand, and remain a living Man; but as *one free among the dead*, who cannot reckon like *Agag*, that *the Bitterness of Death is past*, seeing I think, the Bitterness of my Life is but now begun: And as for this new Lease of it, granted by such Land-lords, disposing of our Clay-Cottages, and in such a Manner; it requires an Apology, rather than a Congratulation. I think it a Misery to out-live the Comforts of Life, and a Shame to hold it of their Favour, who seek it; and yet I could not but then think it a Sin, to let it go for their Pleasure, upon Terms, wherein (as I then thought) I could not find Matter for an honourable Testimony. My Enemies deceitful Yeildings did prevent me of the Occasion of it; and Christ did not think me worthy of the Honour of it, nor fit to partake of the Happiness of it. And what shall *I* say? Here I am yet *dwelling in Meshech, and in the Tents of Kedar*, as a discourted and discarded Servant of my lovely Lord; yet ambitious to be his Servant and Sufferer, though unworthy to be a Witness. Both before and after I came to *Edinburgh*-Tolbooth, I have both feared and hoped, that I should have been in Eternity, or near it by this Time; my Friends expected it, my Enemies threatned it; yet, here I am still: And how this came to pass, I will now shortly declare, so far as my Memory, now more confused than ever, can gather or glean of the chief and most important Passages of the whole *Transaction*.

When I was last before the Justiciary, having a Delay granted to consider that Paper, which *I* was called to abjure, they gave me the *Proclamation* concerning it, instead of the *Declaration* it self, which *I* did not notice in Presence, but afterward *I* did read it over; and thought it would be required *I* should give my Sentiments of it, which therefore *I*

set

ſet down in the Margent of the foreſaid Proclamation as follows. Upon the Title, *A late Treaſonable Declaration*, &c. *I* do diſown all treaſonable Declarations, and all horrid Principles of Aſſaſſinations. But *I* humbly conceive this is not ſufficient to extort from me an explicite Confeſſion of the Treaſonableneſs or Horridneſs of that Declaration, which here is not expreſſed. Your Lordſhips Teſtimony may found the Hiſtorical Faith of it, as other Repreſentations of Matters of Fact, but the implicite Faith of it cannot be a Bottom to my Conſcience, till *I* underſtand it better: *For as much as ſeveral inſolent*, &c. who theſe Rebels are, under ſuch Epithets, *I* know not. I am none of them; but in all the Proclamations I have yet ſeen againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, the ſame Character hath been put upon many really Godly in the Land; I know not but theſe may be of the ſame Sort, *Having frequently refuſed the Offers*, &c. *I* know not what Offers of Clemency they have refuſed; I have refuſed none as yet; if your Lordſhips mean the *Oath of Allegiance*, in the Terms and Senſe now impoſed, or the Bonds obliging to hear Curates, or theſe abſolute and indefinite Engagements to abandon the Priviledge of Defenſive Arms; or if your Lordſhips do reflect upon ſome People, their diſcountenancing the then tendered, but now interdicted *Indulgence*, by Vertue of the King's Eccleſiaſtick Supremacy, or their refuſing the late Teſt, (which are all the Favours *I* have heard of) *I* ingenouſly confeſs, *I* would have ſcrupled them my ſelf. But next, if they have diſowned Authority, or declared War in the Senſe here narrated, or upon Principles inconſiſtent with all Government, or if they make ſuch inferences, as are here ſpecified; *I* do diſown them and it both. But if it be founded upon ſuch Principles as ſome times Declarations have been ſtated upon by our firſt Reformers, in Defence of their Religion, Lives and Liberties; or that carried on by our Fathers in Proſecution of the Ends of the Covenant, or theſe Appearances that have been made upon the ſame Principles, at *Pentland* and *Bothwel*, *I* confeſs ingenuouſly, *I* muſt demur the diſowning of it till *I* be better informed. *And the Principles*, &c. If theſe be the Principles herein ſpecified in this Proclamation, *I* do diſown them abſolutly: Or if they be Principles, whereon ſuch *Aſſaſſinations* are founded, *I* do diſown it complextly. But as for all the Principles therein ſpecified, *I* do not know but there may be ſome there, which *I* muſt own. Theſe *Animadverſions*, *I* had as fully determined to have given into the Juſticiary, as ever *I* reſolved any thing; but Providence ordered otherwiſe: For about 11 a Clock the foreſaid Day, *March* 25. *I* was haſtily called down from the Iron-Houſe to the Hall of the Tolbooth, to a Conference with Sir *William Paterſon*, and going down in Haſte, *I* forgot the Papers: And after the Conference was ended,

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I was kept in the Hall, till *I* was ſent to the *Juſticiary*, not having Time to go up again for the *Proclamation* with my Notes upon it.

The Purport of my Conference with Sir William Paterſon, *Clerk of the Council was to this effect.*

BEcauſe he had been my *Regent* at the College of *Edinburgh*, he firſt accoſted me with Complements, about his Reſpect to me and Opinion of me, and entred upon ſome common Diſcourſe about my Travels; then asked why I left *Scotland*? Anſwered, To improve my ſelf, and becauſe I had no Encouragement to ſtay in it. Q. *Are you in Orders?* I am a Preacher. Q. *Where received you your Miſſion, from the Miniſters in* Holland? A. No, but at *London*. Q. *Is it true that you own ſuch ſtrange Principles about the Government, I am heartilie ſorrie,* ſaid he, *you ſhould throw away your ſelf at that Rate, being a Young Man?* A. I own no Principles about Government, but ſuch as are conſiſtent with Policy, Reaſon, and Religion. Replyed *You was not of that Opinion you are of, when you was my Scholar?* A. I believe I was partly, ſo far as I was capable; you gave me the firſt Rudiments of it. Replyed, *You learned no ſuch thing in my Dictats, you remember the beginning of my Ethicks?* A. I remember them very well, though it be long ſince; I read them, and I ſhould be content to have any Principles I have about Government tryed by your own Dictats; you ſpeak well there of Monarchy, and I think well of it. Replyed, *well then, I hope you will own the Authoritie of the King?* A. I have demurred to anſwer this hitherto: Partly, becauſe I would fain keep all the freedom I have, that is only that of my Mind. Its hard that I cannot keep that; I deſire not to trouble the World much with theſe things, if they would let me alone: And partly, becauſe I have had Three or Four Senſes put upon the Queſtion already which I told him, and asked, Pray Sir, what Senſe do you put upon it? Replyed, *Do you own him as your Soveraign Lord, under GOD, whom you muſt obey in all things Lawful?* A. I am not charged with any Diſobedience, and now I am paſſively Subject to his Juriſdiction. Q. *But is not he your Soveraign Lord and King under GOD?* A. Whom GOD appoints, and the People chooſe and ſet over us, according to the Laws of the Land, his Authority I own. Reply. *There is no Chooſing in Hereditary Monarchies, as this is, by undoubted Succeſſion?* A. I meddle not with that; I believe this Man hath as much Right as Lineal Succeſſion can give him; but yet I think if the Repreſentatives had Choſen *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, I ſhould not have quarrelled with it, no more than with the other; I do not think Lineal Succeſſion is enough to make a Man a King. Replyed, *You had need to have a care what you ſay.* A. I do; for firſt he muſt be Proclaimed and then Crowned. Replyed, *Proclaiming is only a Declarati-*

n of what he is, and Coronation is only a Royal Ceremonie. A. Is the Oath he takes, or ſhould take at it, only a Royal Ceremony too? Replyed, *That's only a Cuſtom ſometimes omitted, it does oblige the Conſcience, but who can oblige him to it, or call him to an Account for it?* A. I think its never to be omitted: For that's all the Security we can have for all our Valuable Intereſts; and except Security be given for Religion, and Liberties, for my own part, I would never give my Conſent if required, Paſſive Submiſſion is enough for me. Reply, *No Limitations are to be put to Kings; they are GOD's Vicegerents?* A. And GOD hath reſtricted all his Vicegerents in the Word, ſee *Rom.* 13. *&c.* Reply, *You own King James the ſeventh to be GOD's Vicegerent?* A. Let him be made King firſt by his ſolemn Inauguration, on Terms conſiſtent with Religion and Liberties. Reply, *You ſpeak of making Kings; that's not right.* A. Its a Scripture Expreſſion, I hope Scripture is no Treaſon yet. Reply, *No, God forbid; but where find you it in Scripture?* A. In that both *Saul* and *David* were made Kings. Reply, *That was not in Hereditarie Succeſſion; when it came to that they did not ſo?* A. Yes, even then too; as in *Reboboam's* caſe; they would enter in Terms with him firſt, and ſo in *Joaſh, &c.* Reply, *I am ſorrie for you.* And then made ſolemn Proteſtations he would never wrong me, but theſe were dangerous things: Then ſaid, he wondered that a Man that had ſeen ſo much of the World ſhould entertain ſuch Notions? A. I have ſeen nothing in the World, that needs to make me loth to part with it, when it comes in Competition with Truth? Replyed, *What is Truth? are ſuch things neceſſarie for Salvation?* A. No, not as Fundamentals: But it may be neceſſary for my Salvation, not to go againſt what Meaſure of Light the LORD hath given me, as to theſe things. Replyed, *That's like a* Quaker, *to make Conſcience the Rule.* A. I make it not the *Rule Ruling*, though it be the *Rule ruled*, I would regulate it by Scripture. Replyed, *Theſe are only Circumſtantials in Religion not to be ſuffered for?* A. Are only Fundamentals to be ſuffered for? I thought every Truth or Duty ſhould be preferred to all things we can loſe for them; and as for Circumſtantials in Religion, I do not know what you call ſo, except they be in things indifferent, which we are not ſpeaking about. Several other things paſſed, as about my being at *Bothwel*, which he ſolemnly Proteſted he would never reveal. But I anſwered it muſt be proved, I remember; I asked, if he came by Order to Examine me; No, ſaid he, with the ſame Aſſeverations, but that he came Voluntarily, to Confer with and inform me. Before he had done, Mr. *Gordon* the Clerk of the Juſticiary, came in, and would reſume the Diſcourſe, I told him I was no free to Diſcourſe in any thing, but in *Theſi*. In the mean Time, I remember one came in, and

and told me (his Name was *Campbel*) I might tell him any thing, and freely acquaint him, whether it was at *Bothwel* or not. I could say nothing, but Laugh at his impertinency. Then he fell upon the Head of Defensive Arms, which they first granted was Lawful against all but the King; yet in prosecuting of it, I had the Concession of both the Clerks, that in some cases it was Lawful for a Man to defend himself against the King, when coming to Kill him with his own Hand. Then they fell upon *Renouncing the Declaration*, which I told I behoved to see first, before I could say any thing to it. Then the Clerk *Gerdon* told me he had the Opinion of the Lords, that if I would not answer to it upon Oath, I should Die, and that was Law enough for I had put him in mind, that he could not find an Act of Parliament for it, the other Day, so they departed.

Thereafter I was much troubled and tempted with my Relations, who kept me there in the Hall till I was called about Twelve a Clock, the Good-man of the Tolbooth being also present; I was told, nothing would be put to me that Day, but the Declaration, and therefore they urged me to Sign a Petition to Sir *George M'kenzie* for a Delay, and a Sight of the Paper, which I would in no ways condescend unto; but after being tempted with many importunities, I wrote to him to the Effect following:

MY Lord, having very little Time, in this haste and hurrie, to deliberate upon a Matter of such Consequence, as that now incumbent upon me, to give my Sentiments about that Declaration; And having only seen the King's Proclamation about it, I do humblie conceive it would be much more satisfactory, and contributing to my clearing to see the Paper it self: Which I do desire, and Time to consider it.

At Conclusion of this Line, I was called presently before the Justiciary, who began to tell me, I had now received extraordinary Favours, and more time than ever was allowed any, *and Protested* (all of them speaking) *they would be as tender of my Blood as of their Souls.* I answered, I desired to be tender of it too; but there was other interests more valuable, Conscience and Duty; Then they proceeded to ask. Q. *Will you disown that Declaration, and you shall be Liberate presentlie.* A. *I* can disown nothing implicitly before I see it, and understand it. Rep. *You have had it to consider upon.* A. *I* have not had it; *I* have had the Proclamation about it, but not it self. Q. *Is not that enough?* A. No, it speaks of a Treasonable Declaration; but this is only a Narrative of such a Matter of Fact; but the implicite Faith of this cannot be a sufficient Salve to my Conscience, to disown it, before I see it. Q. *Will you take the Oath there is in the words bearing such a Sense That you abhore such Posi-*

tons of *Aſſaſſinations and declaring War*? A. My Lords, I will make this Overture; That if a War be declared, in the Senſe related in the Proclamation or upon, ſuch Principles, and bearing ſuch inferences there ſpecified, I do diſown it. Repl. *It is ſatisfactory. Will you therefore take the Oath in the Proclamation in theſe Terms*? *A.* No: I muſt ſee the thing it ſelf firſt. Then Orders were given to the Clerk to read it diſtinctly, who read it from the Beginning to the End, and ſome of it I cauſed him to read twice over. When it was done, then it was asked, *What do you think of it now*? *A.* It ſeems to be emitted by a Party in great Calamity and Diſtreſs, by Oppreſſion and rigorous Proſecution of Laws, and putting an Aw upon their Informers, by threatning to fall upon ſuch Methods, which they think are the only Means they have to defend themſelves. I do not think, That it imports ſuch things as are repreſented in the Proclamation. They declare they abhore Aſſaſſinations, and all perſonal Attempts upon any. They ſpeak of the Defence of their Religion, Lives and Liberties; and they declare for a reſolved adherence to all former Faithful Declarations: *I* cannot diſown all theſe, *I* cannot diſown the Covenant and Work of Reformation, it ſpeaks of it. *I* will never diſown theſe Principles. Then there was a Noiſe in the Houſe, many crying out, he is a Gone-Man: Yea, the *Juſtice General* roſe up and ſaid, *We will Speak no more to him.* The Advocat ſaid, *We will not bid you diſown theſe Principles; Renounce it only* IN SO FAR AS, *declares War, and aſſerts it lawful to Kill all employed by the King in his Service.* *A.* I cannot diſown the Declaration: I ſee no ſuch things in it. Repl. *We will not bid you diſown the Declaration: Diſown it only* IN SO FAR AS, *it declares War againſt the King, and aſſerts it lawful to kill,* &c. *A.* That's the Scope of the whole, to adhere to former Declarations, and to treat and repute as Enemies all that ſtreach forth their Hand againſt them, or are their engaged Oppoſers. Repl. *We will not meddle with what is the Scope of it. Will you abſtractly from the Declaration, diſown* IN SO FAR AS, *it declares ſuch things*? *A.* I will abſtractly from the Declaration diſown all Papers, that declare ſuch things as the Proclamation diſcharges. Repl. *Then you muſt take the Oath in the Proclamation.* At which I was ſilent, only I was going to ſay, *In that Senſe.* Then they told me, They would give me one Day more to conſider upon it, and be well adviſed. Then Sir *G. M'kenzie* asked the Keepers there preſent, where I lay in the Priſon? It was anſwered, in the Iron-Houſe. It is the worſe of that, ſaid he, We will ſend him to the Indulged Miniſters, among honeſt Men and good Company. When they diſmiſſed, ſeveral of the Lords ſpoke to me, and bad me be tender of my Life; take Advice: The Advocate, ſaid they, is a Man that can give a good Advice. Then ſaid Sir *George* himſelf

himself, *Mr. Shields, if you desire it, I am willing to confer with you, when you please you shall be sent for.* I answered, I am at command, being a Prisoner, when he pleases I will come. So I was taken to the western Gallery in the Tolbooth. Here I was beginning to slide, and look over the Precipice, which the Day following was punished with a Slip, and being left to follow my Look, I had forgot the Danger of my too near Approach formerly, by nibbling at Equivocations, and ensnaring Shifts, and seeking Advisements; a shameful thing in a resolved Sufferer. And now I reaped the Fruits of these further involvements in Tamperings with them. Yet O how tender was the LORD, and compassionate in every Step of his Conduct? *I* can never enough admire and celebrate his Mercy, both in preventing my Precipitations, in restraining me from running the full Career of a base Complyance, in bridling Mens Cruelty, and sparing my Life. The sudden Haste of my Call down to the Hall in the Morning, as it occasioned my Confusions, and exposed me to Tentations unarmed; for *I* had not Time to put on my Armour that Morning, having scarce Leisure to commend my self to my Captain's Conduct by Prayer, not expecting to be called upon so soon; but this was my Sin, and what followed was the just Punishment of that Omission; so *I* should have prevented the Dawning, and by times have taken warning; for it was no Surprisal: So it contributed to the saving of my Life, in all Appearance; for if *I* had had Time to have prepared my self as *I* intended, and taken those Reflections, *I* had noted on the Margin of the Proclamation, before declared, in all Probability *I* would have incensed their Fury into a more desperate Conclusion; but *I* thought afterwards, and do think still, it was a Forgetfulness prejudicial to my Peace, tho' in Appearance, contributing to my Preservation; for it might have precluded and prevented the sad Sins and Snares, that *I* afterwards fell into; but the LORD would have me humbled: But upon the preceeding Conference, *I* reflected, 1st. That my freedom with Sir *William Paterson* in such Circumstances, upon such slender Grounds of Confidence as his Asseverations, or supposed Generosity, cannot be justified from silly and imprudent Credulity; nor on the other Hand compared therewith, my shifts and quibles before the Justiciary, be purged from fainting-unfaithfulness and ir-resolution. But the Cause of them was, that I never took the Right Prospect of them, nor looked upon them under a Right Notion, as stated there in opposition to CHRIST, and only *consulting to bring a Man down from his Excellency*; which is a great advantage for a Sufferer to have and bear in Mind; for that only will most effectually restrain him from Tampering with them, and from Entertaining or Prosecuting any Discourse, but what is suitable to Speak to CHRIST's Enemies. 2. I cannot but reflect on my silly Facile Humour, that was so

plyable to my Friends impertinent Importunities, involving me into that Addreſs to Sir *George Mackenzie*, for a ſhifting delay, under the preſence of want of ſatisfaction and clearing, which was but a diſingenuous Prevaricating, and a pretending a doubt, where there was none; and beſides it was fairded over with flattery, giving him the Title of *my Lord*, an Honour as unuſual to him, as a Jewel on a Sow's Snout, being only acquired for his ſerving a Wicked Intereſt. This was the firſt time I had called him ſo, which afterwards became habitual tome; yet all this flattering and prevaricating did not avail, for the deſire was not granted, being ſcarce delivered, before I appeared at Court, and then I behoved to give my Thoughts as they came in readineſs. However, I got here ſome Experience, of the Danger and Hurt of Friends inſinuations and prepoſterous Officiouſneſs, tho' proceeding out of Love, which oftentimes puts a Blind on Conſcience; and from this I have been ſometimes made to deſire, that if ever I were again brought ou ſuch a Tryal, I were forſaken of my Friends, and were left altogether on CHRIST's Hands, for that were a great Advantage. 3. I was hooked with that Overture I made of diſowning that Declaration, upon that Suppoſition, *That if it did contain ſuch Principles, and might bear ſuch Inferences, as are inſerted in the Proclamation, I would diſown it*; which did exceedingly animate their hopes of prevailing and enveigling me further, which accordingly did ſucceed. It's Dangerous to hearken to their Overtures; but far more hurtful and hateful to propound Overtures to them; for they interpret it a ceding and giving Ground; and when they ſee a Man beginning to yeild, then they will not ſtick to be very condeſcending, and ſeeming to accept of a little at firſt, that they may draw him on to more, like cunning Anglers, ſome times recoyling back the well baited and busked Hook, to invite the Poor unwary Fiſh to Purſue, and ſometimes letting it run away with the Hook, when it begins to bite kindly, ſo dealt the cunning Hookſters with me. The firſt Motion of the Overture was declared Satisfactory, and interpreted an indirect Approbation of their Proclamation, and a diſowning of every thing Contradictory thereto; which I think indeed followed very conſequently; for tho' it may be ſuſtained in the Abſtract, that we may & muſt renounce ſuch Declarations, founded on Principles inconſiſtent with Government, and bearing ſuch Inferences, as are ſpecified in that Proclamation; yet in the Concret, conſidering what they mean by Government, and what ſort of a Society that is, the ſecurity whereof is infringed by that Declaration, and what is the ſcope of the Narrative, a renouncing of a Paper, contradictory thereto, muſt be in ſo far a tacite Approbation of that Proclamation: Beſides, what gained *I* by that Overture? Or what could I expect by it, if it were not to ſtrike Cream in their Mouths, a

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base design and not succeeding? 4. I observe from that Character, they gave to the Indulged Ministers, to whom they sent me to be Documented in their Court-Principles, making use of them as their Clerks. 1st That by their own Confession, they Oppress and Imprison some *Honest Men and well Principled*: Next, we see who are *Honest Men* in their Reckoning, who will serve their designs, which is no great Credit to the Indulged, to get such Praise from their Mouth upon such an account.

When I came into the Room where the Indulged were, I told them how I was sent there to be Documented; and accordingly, after a little Refreshment, they fell to their Task, and Discourſed as Loyally as Learnedly upon the *Question of Authority* and upon the *Abjuration*, very earnestly pressing the taking of it, alledging that it was not a disowning of the Declaration *Simpliciter*, but only *Secundum quid*, not *Formally*, but *Conditionally*, taking and confounding, *IN SO FAR AS*, *For IF SO BE*, that it was only a declaring of Abhorring of Murdering Principles, which no Christian could refuse; and as for declaring War against the King, they said, this was always denyed by Presbyterians, that ever they declared War against the King, but only for Defence of their Lives and Liberties, *&c.* Neither would it infer a renouncing all Declarations against the King (which I observed) but only this, *In so far, &c.* What sad and various Disputes, Snares and Tentations, I had among them, and how grievous and wounding to my Spirit, I cannot find Words to express; however at Night I had some Breathing, and continued most part of it Waking, and Thinking and Resolving, and crying, as I could win at it, to be resolved, what to do next Day.

My Third Appearance before the Justiciary, in which I took the Oath of Abjuration, March 26th. 1685.

NOW the Day came of my fatal Fall, the just desert of my former Blind and Bold Approaches, to the Brink of these Precipices, which I had been looking over before, and now was left to follow my Look. I shall not go about to make any Apology for my Foolish Fainness; only adoring the LORD's Mercy and Tenderness, that I did not break my Neck: I shall give a true, short and impartial Account of the way of it, making it neither better nor worse, than it was in Matter of Fact. The Night before, among many other Rovings, which kept me waking all Night almost, I fell a Sleep with a Resolution, that (next Morning) conceived and brought forth an unhappy Birth, the maintaining of which, did occasion the loss of my Integrity, which was this; I considered that the Contest betwixt the Justiciary and me the preceeding Day, was for me, in four respects, against my self, they seeming to be resolved to save me, and I as it were determined not to be

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ſaved by them. This I thought to be very ſtrange, and therefore in the Morning I began to think on a Senſe of Accommodation, taking the Words abſtractly, not to diſown the Declaration at all (as I bribed my ſelf to think) but only that pretended one, ſpecifying ſuch Aſſertions, the Minut of which I drew up in theſe Words, and at my Appearance, gave it in, in this Form.

My Lords, *Upon as ſerious and mature Deliberation, as my diſordered Mind could be capable of, in this hurry and ſurpriſe, Conſulting both the Declaration it ſelf, that I am commanded to give my Inſignificant Sentiments of, and conſulting His Majeſty's Proclamation, to find out that which is offenſive to your Lordſhips in it; adviſing alſo with the Opinion of the Lords of the Council and Seſſion, upon refuſing to Anſwer when queſtioned about it: The reſult of my Thoughts is, in the Sincerity of an unfeigned Conſcience, and in the fear of GOD, that I do abhor renounce and diſown that and all other Declarations,* IN SO FAR AS, *that, or they do declare War againſt the King expreſly, propoſedly or deſignedly, and aſſerts, that it is lawful to Kill all that are imployed by His Majeſty, or any becauſe ſo imployed in Church, State, Army or Country.* Thus I thought to ſolve the Matter by a quibble and nice Diſtinction, thinking that the Words might bear ſuch a Conſtruction, and that this was not a diſowning of that; nor no Declaration which ever I ſaw, (ſave one of their pretending) nor that neither, but only IN SO FAR AS, or IF SO BE, it import ſuch things, as I was Schooled, to confound theſe very different Expreſſions by the Indulged; for that Declaration *I* was required to Abjure as *I* took it, does not declare War againſt the King expreſly, purpoſedly and deſignedly as King, but only againſt *Charles Stuart*, by them declared to be no King, who ſet forth the Declaration; neither did ever any declare War againſt the King, whom they Profeſſedly owned both as their King and their Enemy, in ſo doing as King; neither did *I* ever hear of any that did aſſert it lawful to Kill all employed in his Service, becauſe ſo imployed; this did induce me to think the Matter abſtractly lawful, and ſo I went on with this Device, carrying the Minut along with me. Thereafter about Twelve of the Clock this Day *March* the 26*th*. *I* was carried before the Juſticiary. When I came there, I found a Sick-man Pannelled before me, who took the Oath of *Abjuration* and *Allegiance*. Then the Lords all pointed with the Finger at me, ſaying, *You ſee what this Poor Honeſt Man does*, ſo they ſet him at Liberty: Then the Advocat coming in, ſaid to me, *Now there was no other Evaſion for me, but to Anſwer*. I anſwered, I had but one Intereſt in the World left next my Life, that was the freedom of my Thoughts; but when that comes in Competition with Life, then *I* muſt Surrender the one to preſerve the other; but there is one yet, which *I* prefer to both, that is Conſcience; to preſerve which inviol-

inviolable, I muſt both have Underſtanding my ſelf, and there muſt be a good Underſtanding betwixt your Lordſhips and me, in the thing impoſed upon me; and therefore leſt I ſhould Heſitate in the Words, becauſe I have not a Faculty of prompt ſpeaking, I do give in the Senſe, in which I will Subſcribe to that Oath in the Proclamation; and ſo gave in the foreſaid Minut. When they Read it, they ſaid it was Satisfactory, and ſo they gave it about from Hand to Hand, and then required me to hold up my Hand. I anſwered, I did not ſay I would Swear, there is a difference betwixt Abjuring and Renouncing. They Replyed, *They could come no lower down, I muſt do that, or be reputed Guilty*, I anſwered, I could not Swear in that manner, I had heard the other Man do, for then I muſt follow in Suſpence the Manuduction of the Clerk, who might put in Words, that *I* could not admit of. Then they told me they would write it down to me, which they did in this manner: *I do Abjure, Renounce and Abhor, that Traiterous and Treaſonable Paper, called the Apologetical Declaration, in ſo far as it declares War againſt the King, and aſſerts, &c.* I anſwered, I would not Subſcribe that. Then ſaid they, what will you do then? *I* anſwered, let me ſee the Proclamation, which done, then ſaid *I*, write theſe Words out of it, *I do Abhore, Renounce and Diſown in the Preſence of GOD, that pretended Declaration, in ſo far as it declares War againſt the King; and Aſſerts, that it's lawful to Kill all imployed by Him in Church, State, Army or Country*; which was done by the Clerk, and preſented to me with a Pen. Then Proteſting it might not be conſtructed in any other Senſe, than the Genuine meaning of the Words I had delivered in the above written Minut, *I* did Subſcribe it and Swear it. That which did induce me to it was, that they gave it in my own meaning. After *I* had done, one that ſate next, ſaid to me, *I had done like a Gentleman*; which Words gave my Heart a knell, and *I* anſwered very confoundedly, if *I* have not done like a Chriſtian too, it is all wrong. Yes ſaid he like a Chriſtian too. Thereafter I pleaded for my Liberty, according to their Promiſe. They replyed, *I was free now for them, they had no more to do with me, but I was the Councils Priſoner ſtill.* Then when all was done, *I* Proteſted, that this which *I* had done might not be reckoned a Complyance for Fear of my Life, but in vain; then *I* was ſent back to my old (now more than ever weary) Priſon, and taken to the Weſtern Gallery. My reſenting of this fooliſh, unfaithful and diſhonourable Step of Complyance, ſo diſhonourable to CHRIST, and derogatory to the Day's Teſtimony, ſo Contradictory to the many reiterated Confeſſions of Chriſt's Worthy, tho' Poor and Deſpiſed Witneſſes, Sealed by their Blood and Bonds, and Baniſhments; ſo contrary to my former Reſolutions and expreſſed Purpoſes, yea, and Admonitions and Exhortations to others, ne-

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ver to Bargain or black Paper with these accurſed Murderers, ſo encouraging and gratifying to the Enemies, ſo hardening to Backſliding Brethren, ſo offenſive to the Generation of the Righteous, ſo Stumbling to all; I cannot find words to expreſs, nor Groans to bemoan it. Which conſidering my after-relapſes after bitter Remorſe, into ſad ſlips afterwards, leaves ſuch a Stain upon my Profeſſion, as a Sufferer for CHRIST, that I cannot wipe off, and ſuch a Sting upon my Conſcience, that I ſhall never weep out. O how was I thus left of GOD in ſuch Darkneſs and Confuſion, that I now think I have been deprived of Reaſon as well as Conſcience, in pleaſing and blinding my ſelf with ſuch Non-ſenſical Notions and quibling Evaſions to mock GOD, deceive the Enemy, and delude my ſelf! I wonder how I could be ſatisfied with that nicely diſtinguiſhing, betwixt *diſowning that Declaration required to be Abjured, and that pretended one, ſpecifying ſuch Aſſertions.* For tho' all theſe Aſſertions cannot be faſtened upon that *Apologetical Declaration*, but it is evident it is Invidiouſly Miſrepreſented; yet that ſame is the pretended one, which they require to be Abjured, *in ſo far as it aſſerts ſuch things*; which is not a Suppoſition, nor yet a ſimple Reſtriction, as they would give it out. But an Aſſertion that ſuch things are indeed imported in it. For if it might paſs current under that Notion, as a Suppoſition, as being Equivalent to *IF SO BE*, then under that Sophiſtical pretext, I might Renounce the Covenant, nay, the moſt indiſputed Confeſſion or Declaration that ever was, in ſo far as it contains ſuch things; and ſo this Equivocation might elude all Teſtimonies whatſoever, and all Prevarications might be hereby juſtified; yet this was the Senſe of my patched Accommodations, which my baſe Fears and carnal Hopes did Bribe me to make, which Infatuation was the juſt reward of my betaking my ſelf to that Conceit of Wit, rather than depending on the LORD's Counſel, and the Dictates of a Reclamant Conſcience. O that I, and all ſuch Forgers of Accommodations with ſuch a Party, in Matters of Conſcience, might take warning from this for the Future! I ſee not how any Accommodations can be Condeſcended upon, if we have right Thoughts of the Party with whom they are to be made, there can be no Conſcientious Tranſaction with them; for it is plain to all that are not blinded with ignorance, or Partiality, or a judicial Stroak, that they are *ſuch Sons of* Belial *as cannot be taken with Hands*, or by the Hand in any Bargain; *but the Man that ſhall touch them, muſt be fenced with Iron and the Staff of a Spear.* Or if we reflect upon the Matter upon which theſe Accommodations are to be offered, or accepted, they cannot be judged to be capable of any Accommodation; for they are not things upon which we may come and go at our Diſcretion, as we may do with our own Particulars, or with Problems to be Diſputed, or with

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guous Propoſitions capable of different Senſes; but Matters ſo and ſo Circumſtantiate as do require the poſitive determined Judgment of the Conſcience, Concerns of Truth and Falſhood, Duty and Sin, which cannot admit of Accommodation, or Diſpenſation, or Reſervation, or any other Senſe, than the Impoſers, and they that State their Inquiſition about ſuch things do own, and are obſervedly known to have and maintain about them; Otherwiſe all other Forged Accommodations are but tampering Tricks, jugling with Juglers, deceiving the Deceivers, in ſuch a way as does not well conſiſt with the Simplicity of the Goſpel, or the Dove's Innocencie: Neither will they be ſo eaſily deceived, for they will readily yeild to Accommodations, or any tolerable Senſe that we can put upon their Snares, for they reckon that a yeilding in part, and are glad to find us ſo far juſtifying their Acts and Impoſitions, as by our offer practically to declare they may bear a good ſenſe; and they will come many ways to our Hand to get us hooked ſo. But next, As to that Non-ſenſical Accommodation, which I tendered to you in my Minute above ſpecified, I cannot reflect upon it without Shame and Sorrow, for it was Stuffed with many Abſurdities. 1*ſt*. It exceedingly aggravates the Sin of that Complyance *that I declare therein, That I did it with Serious and Mature Deliberation, or as ſerious as my diſordered Mind was capable of.* What? Did I not think it enough to comply out of Fear or other Perſwaſion in the Speat of Tentation, but do it deliberately, and not only do it deliberately, but declare and Atteſt ſo Solemnly my Deliberation: what a Horrid height of Hainouſneſs does that amount to? 2*dly*, It does not a little aggrege it, that I ſay, *Conſulting that Declaration it ſelf, I diſowned and Renounced it, IN SO FAR AS, &c.* And which was not only more than they ſeemed to bid me do the former Day, but plainly contrary to what I ſaid before them, I would not do, and which can never be done in Conſcience. 3*dly*, I think it a baſeneſs of the higheſt degree, that I confeſſed *that I did it out of Reſpect to his Majeſty's Proclamation, to find out that which was offenſive to their Lordſhips in the Declaration,* which hath a Maſs of wickedneſs in it. For therein by that Expreſſion I gave them to underſtand, that I approved of their wicked Proclamation and had reſpect to it, and that I judged the Narrative thereof a true Repreſentation of that Declaration, which I always before denyed; and that I diſowned, Renounced, and Abjured every thing in the Declaration offenſive to them, that's no leſs than the whole of it; and ſo the Covenants, and the Work of Reformation, and all the Teſtimonies of CHRIST's Worthies with one Blaſphemous Breath. O dreadful to conceive! 4*ly*, I cannot but deteſt that moſt Brutiſh Cowardice, when I ſay, *I renounced it upon adviſing with the Opinion of the Lords of the Council and Seſſion, about refuſing to anſwer*; This was

a declaring, that I was influenced by a regard to their Opinion and Fear of Death, which was a deliberate seeking to save my Life without Respect to Conscience, and also a Voluntary and deliberate abandoning of that Priviledge of the Liberty of Thoughts upon their Opinion. 5*ly*, It does exceedingly aggravate the Sin, *that I pretended Sincerity of an unfeigned Conscience, in the Fear of GOD.* I will not say, but what I did was according to the Sentiment of a Blinded and Bribed Conscience for the Time, when I suffered my self to be Cheated with the Sophistry of the Snare, but all the Sincerity of it serves only to make it a sincerely pretended sin; and to make a pretext of the Fear of GOD, is but a Horrid Lie, and a dreadful mocking of GOD, for if I had that principally influencing me, I should have been more restrained from that Complyance. 6*ly*, The Sense I put upon the Oath, *Disowning, Renouncing and abhorring, that & all other Declarations, IN SO FAR AS, that, or they do declare War against the King expresly, purposedly or designedly, &c.* Is either Non-sence, or an abominable Prevarication; for if it have any sense, it Condemns not only the Declaration upon the Heads whereupon its Honesty and Faithfulness chiefly consists, but all other most Honest and Honourable Declarations that have been made and emitted by our Worthy and Renowned Ancestors, and by our Worthies in our own Time, who have Formally, Avowedly and explicitly, or expresly, purposedly and designedly declared their Opposition to Tyranny and Tyrants, and their Lawful and Laudable Design, to Repress, Depress, and Suppress them, by all the Ways and Means that GOD and Nature, and the Laws of Nations allow; where they did *ipso jure* Depose and exauterate themselves from all Rule, or Privilege, or Prerogative of Rulers, and became no more *GOD's Ministers, but Beelzebub's Vice-gerents*, and Monsters to be exterminated out of the Society of Mankind; the honestest of all our Declarations of Defensive War, have always run in this Strain, and others insinuating more Prepostrous Loyalty have been justly Taxed for Asserting the Interest of the Tyrant, the greatest Enemy of the Declarers, and principal Object of the declared War; which Disingenuous juggling and foisting in such Flattering and falsifying Distractions in the State of the Quarrel, hath rationally been thought one of the procuring Causes and Occasions of the Discomfiture of our Appearances for the Work of GOD, and Liberities of our Country. To all which I have given the Lie by my pitiful quibling: Neither will these poor empty pretended Precisions salve the Matter, *That that Declaration does not declare War against the King, under that Reduplication as their King, but only against* Charles Stewart, For 1. Then I Subscribed and Sware to a Lie in Abjuring it, so far as it did declare a thing which it did not declare, if that hold. 2. The Enemies impose the Abjuring and disown-

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ing of it, *IN SO FAR AS it declares War against their King*, who had none other but *Charles Stewart* at that Time, who was the King in their Sense, & an Oath cannot be taken in any other sense contradictory to the Imposers, even tho' by them allowed, without an unjustifiable Equivocation, which I was not so ingenuous as to explain. 3. Tho' he had been King, and had not committed such Acts of Tyranny, as might habitually denominate him a Tyrant, and Forefeit his Kingship; yet to repress his Arbitrariness and intolerable Enormities, and to Repel his unjust Violence, and reduce him to good Order, Subjects at least for their own Defence, may declare a War formally, purposedly, expressly and designedly, against their own acknowledged King, this ought not to be in so far disowned; for then all our Declarations emitted during the whole Time of Prosecuting the Reformation, in Opposition to our King, would be disowned; and so with one dash I have unhappily, tacitly and indirectly, and consequently, disowned the whole Work of Reformation, and the way of carrying it on. The other Evasion for the other Branch of it, is superfluous & senseless, *That I abhore it IN SO FAR AS, it asserts it Lawful to Kill all employed in the King's Service*, because so employed. For, 1. It asserts no such thing, neither for that Cause or any other, but expresly makes a Distinction between Persons under the Epithet of Bloody, Cruel, Murderers, *&c.* and these only. 2. The only Reason of their declared intent of prosecuting these whom they threaten to bring to Condign Punishment, is because they are so employed by the Tyrant, in such Service as shedding the Blood of innocents, and for their undertaking and following that employment, and so that's the very Reason for which they deserve to be killed; and therefore fooliſh, impertinent and very absurd to be alledged, as a Qualification of the Sense of that impious Oath.

When next I take a Review of my Discourse before the Justiciary, *I* think it like the Raving of a Man in an Ague, or rather like one deserted of the LORD; or like *Peter's* Discourse, as it may be supposed, when he sat by the *High Priest's* Fire-side; how full of Impertinence and unworthy Juggles! shewing, that many times when a Man forgoes his Conscience, he loseth the use of his Reason. So it fared with me. For 1. I think the *Prologue* of that *Tragedy* might have presignified to me, what a sad *Epilogue* it should have, and foreshown what was like to be the Issue; for sure if I had had my Wits about me, I might have wisely discerned what was the Design of staging and bringing in that sick Man to take these Oaths, on purpose to shew me an Example, and tantalize me with the Sight of others Liberty, to make me bite the more eagerly at that Hook. 2. At my first opening my Mouth, I made a great Gap to make way to all that followed; for tho' I foolishly pretended a Caution of pre-

ſerving Conſcience inviolable; while in the mean time I was cheating and wounding it cruelly, yet I made a baſe and ſilly Surrender of a Priviledge, which I had aimed to plead for before; and which in my Circumſtances was preferable to my Life, on theſe Terms, that was *the Freedom of my Thoughts*, which there and then I voluntarily and profeſſedly abandoned. 3. My Averſation from ſwearing in the Uſual Formality; I thought I had ſome Reaſon to object againſt that Blind Implicite way, and my ſcrupling the firſt, from the Oath tendered to me, were nothing but the Struggling of a Burdened and Stifled Conſcience, faintly then whiſpering, as it could get leave, what afterward it more loudly challenged: For the very Offer of Swearing ſtartled me, it being the very firſt Oath that ever I was required to take, at leſt, that ever I did ſwear: And ſwearing after that manner, hand over-head, as it were, repeating the Clerk's words without knowing what, than in a manner ſuitable to that grave and holy Action of Swearing, with uplifted hands to the Moſt High, (I tremble to mention it) ſeemed yet more odious; and ſwearing and ſubſcribing to that Form, as they gave at firſt, ſeemed worſt of all; becauſe it was a clear Abjuration of that Declaration, as Traiterous and Treaſonable, which I thought I would reſerve, and would not do, nor was not required to do, as I was made to believe: But chiefly, becauſe I thought it was not ſo congruouſly capable of that Senſe and Accommodation, that I had deviſed and given in to them, which the other Form ſeemed to admit; tho' indeed when I reflect upon it more ſoberly and ſeriouſly, I cannot ſee how it can quadrate with it more than the other; for that pretended Declaration inſert in the Proclamation, and that which they call Traiterous and Treaſonable, under the Expreſs Denomination of the *Apologetical Declaration*, lately affixed upon the Church-Doors, is all one, and can noways be diſtinguiſhed: But its uſual for a guilty Son of *Adam*, to ſow Fig-leaves. But when I look upon it in the Complex, under all its Fig-leaves, and all the Circumſtances, Ceremonies, Senſes and Accommodations, Plaiſtrings and Palliatings, wherewith it can be covered or coloured; I am aſhamed and confounded to look upon the ſhameful and ſinful Nakedneſs of that Step of unjuſtifiable Complyance and Defection, my taking, ſwearing and ſubſcribing that Abominable Oath of Abjuration.

I might aggravate my own Deed beyond the heinouſneſs of others taking of it, from many particular Circumſtances in my Complyance; tho' theſe were by me firſt intended as Extenuations, yet now appearing under a more helliſh hew and crimſon Tincture, of a deeper Dye than if I had ſimply taken it without a Scruple; for all theſe Scruples, Debates and Objections againſt it, my Overtures and Propoſals about it, my Accommodation

modation and Senſe that I offered, ate all but fowl Fairdings of and Compounding Tranſactions, and pitiful Priggings for a Baſe Complyance; But I have given ſome Detection of my Sentiments of theſe already, I ſhall content my ſelf at preſent in giving ſome general Hints, in diſcovering the Iniquity of the Oath it ſelf, which are weighting and wounding to me.

1. Conſidering the Party who ſet forth that Declaration, whom the Proclamation repreſents ſo odiouſly and invidiouſly, whom the Oath impon'd obliges us to condemn, as ſo repreſented; as if they were *Maintainers of Murdering Principles, and Perpetrators of Aſſaſſinating Villanies, inconſiſtent with Peace, or any good Government, and therefore to be exterminated and deſtroyed out of the Land*; whom therefore they proſecute and perſecute ſo cruelly, to the Effuſion of their Blood, under colour of Law. By my taking this Oath, I have formally, under my unhappy hand, diſowned and renounced them, and all Part or Intereſt in them, or Society or Sympathy with them, whom yet I know and believe are the Suffering People of GOD, more earneſtly contending, witneſſing, wreſtling for *the Faith, and Word of CHRIST's Patience*, and have ſuffered more for their Adherence to the Covenanted Reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, and for their Oppoſition to all its Deformations and Defections, than any Party within the Land; yet them have I rejected as my Companions, though with ſome of them I have had ſweat Company and Communion, in the Houſe of GOD, by abjuring and condemning their Deed, which Duty and Neceſſity drove them to: Hereby I have preſumptuouſly taken upon me, to paſs a Judgment upon the Deed of my Brethren before their murdering bloody Enemies, and that not a private diſcretive Judgment, but a publick definitive Sentence, in my Capacity, by the moſt Solemn Way of declaring it, that can be, by Oath and Subſcription under my Hand; whereby I condemned all the ſufferings of my Dear Brethren, who ſealed their Teſtimony, in Oppoſition to this Complyance, with their Blood; and finiſhed it with Honour and Joy, as fooliſh and frivolous Profuſion of their own Blood: Nay, as juſt and legally inflicted and executed upon them, *as Rebels of Murdering Principles and Practices*; for this cannot be vindicated from a more than indirect juſtifying of all Murdering Severity executed upon them.

2. Conſidering the Party impoſing the Oath with ſuch Rigour, and proſecuting the Refuſers with ſuch ravenous Rage, murdering and torturing all who will not comply with them, declaring a War more formally and explicitly againſt CHRIST as King, and all that will dare to aſſert their Allegiance to Him, under an open diſplayed Banner of Defiance of him and his, than ever Mortals durſt eſpouſe and avouch. The Head of that treacherous and truculent Faction, both he who was firſt declared

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againſt in that Declaration, and he who hath by bloody and treacherous Uſurpation ſucceeded to him, being ſuch a Monſter for Murder and Miſchief, Tyranny, Oppreſſion, Perfidy, and Perjury, that among all the *Nimrods* and *Nero's* that paſt Ages can account, we cannot find a Parallel, by all Law, Divine and Humane, incapable of Government, or any Truſt, or ſo much as Protection, or any Priviledge, but to be purſued by all as a common Enemy to Mankind, and Beaſt of Prey, and his Underlings and Agents and Complices devoted to his Luſt and ſerving his wicked Deſigns in their reſpective Offices and Places of Truſt under him, which by his Nomination and ſole Appointment, they have been erected to, and eſtabliſhed in, with the Stain and indelible Character of Perjury, the only Qualification, and *Cauſa ſine qua non*, of their being capable of any Advancements, occupying by Uſurpation, Intruſion and Violence the publick Places of Judicatory, and carrying all ſo inſolently and arbitrarily, and with ſuch an Effrontry of Wickedneſs and Deſpite of all Reaſon, Religion or Juſtice, that they cannot but be looked upon as the moſt peſtilent and peſtiferous Plague, that ever peſtered a People. By my taking of that Oath, by them projected, as a Peſt to infect Conſciences with, and pervert them to wicked Truth-deſerting and Law-perverting Loyalty, and impoſed as a Teſt of our Complyance with them, and coming off from that little Flock, whom they deſign to devour and deſtinate to Deſtruction; *I* have in their own Eſteem, as well as of the Generation of the Righteous, to their Satisfaction and the others Sorrow, really incorporate my ſelf with them, owned their uſurped Power, as Judges to adminiſter Oaths, given them all the Obedience they required for the Time to their Authority, and all the Security they demanded for my Loyalty, approved all their Preceedings in that Matter, and tranſacted, tampered and bargained with theſe *Sons of Belial*, upon ſuch diſhonourable Terms, for a baſe Fear of my ſilly Life, and thereby purchaſed a Right to that common Badge of their profeſſed and owned Friends, who (upon taking that Oath) have from them a Priviledge and Allowance to travel and traffick, where and how they will, through the Country, denied to all other that want that Badge, *I* mean the *Paſs*, or *Teſtificate* they get from them thereupon, which is the Mark of that *Secular Beaſt* of Tyranny, no leſs pernicious to the World, than Popery hath been to the Church, and which is given to all the Takers of that Oath, as a *Mark* or *Teſſera*, that they are no Enemies to the Government, as they call it: Now tho' I received not this; yet *I* had a Right to it, and ſhould have got it actually, if *I* had been liberated. O baſe and unworthy Livery for the ſuffering Sons of *Zion*, this Day to put on the Signature of the Society of her Devourers.

3. Conſidering that *Apologetical Declaration* it ſelf, which is ſo beſpattered and odiouſly Repreſented, and ſo rigorouſly enjoyned to be Abjured; but when I more narrowly look into it, and ponder and perpend the Purpoſe and Scope of it, I can ſee nothing that can be abjured Conſcientiouſly in it, but the whole of it, laying aſide Prejudice and Critical Cenſoriouſneſs, capable of a fair and acceptable Conſtruction. The Motives leading them to ſet it forth, being only their deſires and laudable Conſcientious endeavours to Proſecute, and to ſecure themſelves in the Proſecution of Holy commanded Duties, and to keep up a ſtanding Teſtimony againſt the Inſolence of the Age, given up of GOD to lay out themſelves in promoving a Courſe of Prophanity and Perſecution, notwithſtanding of all their Viperous Threatnings; their Meaſures being none other, than the Commendable Precedents and Examples of Zealous and Tender Hearted Chriſtians, who have done the like, and our National and Solemn Covenants lying with their binding force Indiſpenſably upon all of us, obliging us, to endeavour all that's there declared, as being bound for ever to have common Friends and Foes with our Covenanted Reformation; to all which they declare, and avouch their reſolved adherence, and their own former Declarations, diſowning their Allegiance to, and the Authority of a Man, who had *ipſo jure* Forefaulted all Authority, by his Intollerable Tyranny, Perjury and Perfidious breach of Truſt, repoſed and devolved upon him by Covenant, and by his overturning all the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Government, perverting, inverting, everting all Laws, all Liberties, all Priviledges of Church and State, all Eſtabliſhments of our Covenanted Work of Reformation, all ſecurities of our Life, or Enjoyments whatſoever; uſurping to himſelf an Abſolute, Tyrannical, Civil Supremacy, inconſiſtent with the Freedom or Safety of the People, and a Monſtrous, Blaſphemous, Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, as formally Invading and Encroaching upon the Mediator's Prerogative, as King of his Church, by him Exauctorated, as ever the Antichriſt's Supremacy was. Upon which conſiderations, to endeavour to make good their Freedom, find Emancipation from that Yoke, which they had caſt off, they behoved to reſolve upon a War defenſive againſt him, and his Bloody Emiſſaries; which being declared before, they only here Teſtifie their unanimous Approbation of, Adherence to, and Reſolutions to Proſecute that War againſt him and his Accomplices, ſuch as lay out themſelves to promote his Wicked and Helliſh Deſigns: By which War they do not mean a formed, ſtated and declared Inſurrection, with Hoſtile Force to break the Peace of the Nation, and involve all in Blood; but a reſolved, avowed, conſtant Oppoſition to the Murdering, Violence, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion and Perſecution of this Wicked Faction now Raging

ing rather than Reigning, who have Declared and ſtill proſecute a declared War againſt CHRIST, bearing down his Work and Intereſt in the Land, and a conſtant Endeavour in Oppoſition to them to Purſue the Ends of our Covenants, in ſtanding to the Defence of our Glorious Work of Reformation, and their own Lives, and in the Defence thereof, to maintain the Cauſe and Intereſt of CHRIST againſt his Enemies, and to hold up the Standart of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, meaning the Goſpel, and the Word of their Teſtimony, whereunto they looked upon themſelves as bound and obliged by their Holy Covenants, dedicated to the LORD in their Perſons, Lives, Liberties and Fortunes, for defending and promoving this Glorious Work of Reformation, notwithſtanding all oppoſition that is or may be made thereunto, and Sworn againſt all Neutrality and Indifferency in the LORD's Matters: Whereunto they beſeech, invite and obteſt all them, who wiſh well to Zion, to a Concurrence and Conſerting the ſame common Cauſe and Quarrel, in maintaining of which Oppoſition againſt ſuch Wicked Enemies, becauſe by them they were reſtleſly Purſued, and Hunted, and Murdered wherever they were met with, neither could find any Harbour or Hiding Place in any Corner of the Country, for Searchers, Informers, and Inſtigators, who ſtill ſtirred up the Country to riſe the Hue and Cry after them, and cauſed them to be delivered up, and delated them to the Courts of their Murdering Enemies, whereby much Innocent Blood was ſhed. Therefore to ſtop their Carreer of Violence, and deter 'em from ſuch Courſes, they found it neceſſary to threaten 'em with more active and vigorous Oppoſition, and that they might expect to be Treated as they deſerved, wherein they are far from owning *Aſſaſſinating Principles, or practiſing Aſſaſſinations*; for they give open and plain warning and Advertiſement to the World of their Deſigns, and can no way be charged with *aſſerting it Lawful to kill all employed in the King's Service in Church, State, Army, or Country* (as the Proclamation in viperous-invective-Calumny, miſpreſents the Declaration) but on the contrary do jointly and unanimouſly declare, they *deteſt and abhore that Helliſh Principle of Killing all who differ in Judgment from them*: And there they are firmly and really purpoſed not to injure or offend any whomſoever, but ſuch as are directly or indirectly guilty of, or acceſſory to the Murder of their Brethren, whom they mind not to Aſſaſſinate neither, or kill Tumultuarily or raſhly, but to proſecute them with all the Formalities that Juſtice in their Capacity, and the Times diſorder and Diſtracted Condition will allow; expreſly declaring, that they abhore, Condemn and Diſcharge all Perſonal Attempts, upon any Pretext whatſomever, without previous Deliberation, common conſent, certain Probation of ſufficient Witneſſes, or the guilty Perſon's Confeſſion: Neither could it ever be ſuppoſed, that they threaten all

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employed in the King's Service, with this sort of handling, but some select and expresly distinguished kind of Notorious Villanies, Men of Death and Blood, openly avowing and Vaunting of their Murthers; and these they distinguish into several Classes, according to the Respective Aggravations of their wickedness. In the first, they place those that Murder by Command, under a pretext of an Usurped Authority, as *Counsellours*, the *Justiciary*, and *Officers of their Forces, or Bands* of Robbers; and not all these neither, but the Cruel and Blood-Thirsty. In the the 2d Class, they threaten such as are actually in Arms against them in any Inferior Rank, and such Gentlemen and Bishops Curats, as do professedly and willingly serve them, to accomplish and effectuate their Murthers, by obeying their Commands, making search for these poor Men, delivering them up, instigating, informing and Witnessing against, and Hunting after them; and not all these neither, but such as cruelly prosecute that Service to the effusion of their Blood; neither do they threaten all equally, nor any of them peremptorily, but that continuing after the Publication of this their Declaration obstinately and habitually in these courses (which shows they intended no hurt to them if they would hold up their Hands) they would repute them as Enemies to GOD and Reformation, and Punish them as such according to their Power, and the degree of their Offence, withal leaving room for Civil and Ecclesiastick Satisfaction, before Lawful and Settled Judicatories, for the Offences of such Persons as their Power may not reach, *&c.* And as unwilling to be necessitated to such severe Courses, and earnestly desirous they may be prevented, they faithfully and Christianly Admonish them, with Sorrow and Seriousness of the Sin, and Hazard of their wicked Courses, and Protest that only Necessity for Self-Preservation and Zeal to Religion, lest it should be totally rooted out by their insolency, did drive them to this Declaration; and not because they were acted by any sinful Spirit of Revenge: This is all that's contained in that Declaration. And if there be any thing there so Odious and execrable, to be so solemnly Abjured, Renounced and Abhorred in the Presence of GOD, for the Pleasure of, and in Obedience to the Will of His and our Enemies, let any unbyassed Considerer impartially weigh, or awakned Conscience speak. And I doubt my Swearing and Subscribing that Oath will be cast and condemned, I shall say nothing of the Necessity, conveniency, Expediency or Formality of this Declaration; but the Lawfulness of the Matter is so undenyable, that we cannot Resile or Renounce it, without condemning many very Material Principles of our Reformation: And only Success and capacity is wanting to justifie the Manner, whose Procedure, Formality and all the Circumstances of the Business, if either the

Declarers themſelves, or any other impowered with Strength, and countenanced with Succeſs to make good the Undertaking, had iſſued out ſuch a Declaration, in the ſame Terms, and had prevailed and proſpered in the Project; many that now Abjure it would approve and Applaud it. But paſſing theſe things that are extrinſick, to the Conſideration in Hand, it is the Matter we are required to Abjure and Condemn. It is that the Enemies do quarrel at, and not the Inexpediency or Informalities of it, and we muſt take it as they Propound it, and Abjure and Renounce it by Oath as they Repreſent it. And ſo the Iniquity of this my Subſcription will appear to be great in two reſpects, 1. *In denying the Truth.* 2. *In Subſcribing and Swearing to a Lie.* By my taking that Oath, I have denyed and renounced the Matter of it, as it really is there held forth, which is Truth and Duty, and a Teſtimony therein offered to the Cauſe of Chriſt, as it is this Day Stated and circumſtantiated in this Nation, founded upon former (among us) uncontroverted Precedents and Principles of Defenſive Wars, diſowning Tyranny, and repreſſing the Inſolency of Tyrants and their Accomplices; the whole Matter being reducable to theſe two Points, declaring a reſolved endeavour of breaking the Tyrant's Yoke from off our Neck, thereby aſſerting our own and the Poſterities Liberty and Freedom, from his inſupportable and Intailed Slavery, and a juſt threatening to curb and reſtrain the inſolency of Murderers, and to bring them to Condign Puniſhment; whereof as the firſt is no ways repugnant, but very conſonant to the Third Article, ſo the Second is the very Duty obliged unto, in the Fourth Article of our Solemn League and Covenant: But all this I have denyed by my taking that Oath. Next, *By my taking that Oath, I have Subſcribed and Sworn to a Lie*, in taking it as they Repreſent it, Abjuring it, *IN SO FAR AS it declares War*, &c. and *aſſerts it Lawful to Kill all employed in the Service of the King, in Church, State, Army or Country*, which is a manifeſt Odious and Invidious Lie; for it Declares and Aſſerts no ſuch thing, as is before made out; neither will any other Senſe put upon the words (*IN SO FAR AS*) ſalve the Matter, for let them be taken which way they can, either for *in quantum*, or *Quatenus*, or *ſi modo*, it is either a denying the Truth, or Subſcribing a Lie.

4. Conſidering the Proclamation entituled, as it is really deſigned, *For diſcovering ſuch as own, or will not diſown the foreſaid Declaration*, by them falſely nicknamed, *A late Treaſonable Declaration of War againſt his Majeſty, and the ſaid Principle of Aſſaſſination*; which diſcovers ſuch Hell-bred Hatred of, and Malice againſt that poor Party murdered by them, and deſtinated in their Deſign to final and total Deſtruction, and lays down ſuch Contrivances for their Diſcovery and Deſtruction, that the Heads

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and Hearts of the Inventers and Authors may seem to be possessed and inspired with the Devil's immediatly assisting Counsel, and the Clerk's Pen that drew it up, to have been dipt in the *Stygian* Lake, and the Gall and Venom of Hell; representing the Emitters, Abetters and Spreaders of that Declaration, and all who have been joyned to any of their Societies, and all who either will own, or scruple to disown the said Declaration, in the Manner by them tendered and imposed (which are the Generality of the most tender and conscientious Christians in the Land) under all the vilest and most abominable, and odious Terms their Malice can invent; as if they were *Insolent and desperate Rebels, associated under a pretended Form of Government, who had formerly endeavoured to disguise their Bloody and execrable Principles, but now had pulled off the Mask, and who think it a Duty to kill and murder all who do any manner of Way serve the present Rulers, or bear Charge under them; who maintain Principles inconsistent with all Governments and Society, and tending to the Destruction of the Lives of their Loyal and Honest Subjects, treacherous and assassinating Principles, who now have declared their hellish Intentions, and for the better Performance of their mischievous Designs, do lurk in Secret, and are never discerned, but in the Acts of their horrid Assassinations, and passing up and down among the King's Loyal Subjects, taking Opportunity to murder and assassinat, like execrable Rebels*; and calling that Declaration, *an execrable and damnable Paper, &c.* all which are execrable and damnable Lies, and Forgeries of the Father of them, and a Charge which all their Sophistry can never make out in any Particular; yet by them amplified to a swelling Height of Hainousness, and among other Circumstances aggravated from their frequent refusing the reiterated Offers of their Clemency, by which they understand their Contempt of their presumptuous, CHRIST-defying, and Church-destroying Indulgence, and their not submitting to their insnaring and base Indemnities, or their Conscience-cheating Bonds, and Oaths by them so finely busked. From these impudently pretended Premises, in their falsely forged viperous Narrative, they lay down their bloody Methods and Measures, for prosecuting these poor People with all Rigor of savage Severity, ordaining, That whosoever shall own that Declaration, and the Principles therein specified, (which is a larger Dilatation of their meaning, than their pretended Restriction [IN SO FAR AS, *&c.*] and gives a further Discovery of the Intent of the Oath, that gives a covert Streak to all the Principles of our Reformation, which are reductively specified in that Declaration) or whosoever shall refuse to disown the same, shall be execute to the Death; and commanding all Subjects to concur, and do their outmost Endeavour to seek, search, delate and apprehend all such, under the several Penalties of the Laws,

d to difference the good from the bad (meaning their own Aſſociates d Friends, from CHRIST's Followers) by diſcriminating Signs, declaring it their Pleaſure, and requiring all paſt the Age of 16 Years, *Not to preſume to travel without Teſtificates of their Loyalty, and good Principles, by taking the Oath of Abjuration*; whereupon they are to have a *Teſtificate*, which is to ſerve for a free Paſs, with Certification, that all that ſhall adventure to travel without ſuch a Teſtificate, ſhall be holden and uſed as Concurrers with the ſaid Rebels; commanding all Heretors, *&c.* to give in the Liſts of the Names of all under them before the Curate; declaring, if any ſhall refuſe to concur in ſuch Service, they ſhall be holden as guilty of the foreſaid Crimes, and puniſhed accordingly; and ſtrictly prohibiting all to harbour, lodge or entertain any, unleſs they have ſuch Certificates, under the ſame Pain: And for Encouragement to any that ſhall diſcover, or apprehend any to be found guilty, as above ſaid, enſuring to them the Sum of five hundred Merks *Scots* for each of them. This is that Hell-hatched Proclamation, ſo grievous for its Effects, ſo dreadful for its Deſign, ſo monſtruous for its Abſurdities, that the like hath not been ſeen; whereby not only the Country's Intereſt and Trade hath been prejudged, by compelling all to have a Paſs in Time of Peace, and theſe to be procured at exorbitant Rates, oppreſſing poor People, not only Common Hoſtlers and Inn-Keepers are made Judges, impowered to impoſe Oaths upon Paſſengers, for their Paſſes, that they be not forged; but many Conſciences cozened, cheated, wounded and enſnared, and the whole Land involved in Sin: But by my taking this Oath, I have approved and juſtified this deteſtable, execrable, bloody Proclamation, the ſpurious Spawn of the Devil's Venom againſt CHRIST's Followers; for *I* have given all the Obedience to it that was required of me in my Capacity, and Obedience juſtifies the Law enjoining it. *I* have done all was required, or ſhould be done by me, to anſwer the Deſign of it in my Circumſtances, and conſequently by doing the thing preſcribed, *I* have juſtified the Grounds upon which the Preſcript was founded, and the Methods by which it is proſecuted, which hath a dreadful Meddly of Iniquity in it. Hence, 1*ſt*. *I* have ſubſcribed to all theſe odious Characters, wherewith they brand that poor perſecuted Party, and have condemned them, *as inſolent and deſperate Rebels, Murderers, bloody Aſſaſſines*, &c. 2*ly*. In diſowning that Declaration, *I* have diſowned the Principles therein ſpecified, and conſequently all the Teſtimonies againſt this uſurping Faction of Overturners of the Work of Reformation, active and paſſive, that have been given, and ſealed by the eminent Servants of GOD, ſince this *Cataſtrophe*, the Principle of Defenſive Arms, and our Covenants, and ſeveral others, which are therein ſpecified

fied. 3*ly*. *I* have given my Conſent to, and all the Concurrence there required, for ſeeking, ſearching, delating and apprehending of theſe People, and to all the cruel Villanies committed againſt them; for *I* have given all the Concurrence required of me (and I have taken on their preſcribed diſcriminating Sign of Loyalty, and of being repute by them, *a Man of good Principles*. That is, One of their Friends, a Man for the Times, which is ſo ſinful and ſcandalous, that *I* cannot hint theſe things without Shame; and yet for Shame, *I* cannot enlarge upon them.

5. Conſidering the Nature, Conditions, and Qualifications of ſo ſolemn and ſerious a Piece of GOD's Worſhip, and way of invocating his Holy Name, as an Oath is: *I* have by taking that impoſed Oath of Abjuration, dreadfully and hainouſly broken the third Commandment, *by taking his Name in vain*, in the worſt Sort, and ſo cannot *be holden guiltleſs*; but upon many Conſiderations, I muſt cry, Guilty: For it is impoſſible ſuch an Oath, however it be conſtructed, can ever be taken with theſe requiſite Qualifications, neceſſary to be obſerved in all Oaths, that are mentioned once for all, in *Jer.* 4. 2. where every one that ſweareth, muſt do it *in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteouſneſs*. Now, 1*ſt*. This Oath cannot be taken in *Truth*, which is a neceſſary Qualification in all Oaths, according to the Definition of a true Oath, which is, *A ſolemn Invocation of GOD: for Confirmation of ſome True, Lawful, Grave and Weighty, Uſeful and worthy Buſineſs, wherein he is atteſted and appealed unto, that He, as the only Searcher of Hearts, may give His Teſtimony to the Truth of the Thing, and puniſh the Swearer, if he ſwear not in Truth*: And this ſwearing in *Truth* doth import and require, both Sincerity of the Heart, filled with Reverence, and the awful Apprehenſion of a preſent GOD; and Simplicity of the Mind, well informed of the genuine Meaning of the Oath, that we have a clear Up-taking of it, and take it not implicitly, but with our own Underſtanding; and alſo Singleneſs and Honeſty in the Intention, that it be not to deceive, by putting any other Senſe than the Impoſer hath, or will allow, when he underſtands it; ſo the Meaning muſt be clear, and ſuch as may be obviouſly gathered from the Words, and according as they are ſuppoſed to be underſtood by others, eſpecially them that exact the Oath; for if he mean one thing and we ather, GOD's Name is profaned, and the End of the Oath fruſtrate; and ſo all EQUIVOCATIONS and MENTAL RESERVATIONS are condemned, as all Divines treating on Oaths teach: And worthy Mr. *Durham* particularly on the 3*d*. *Command*, Pag. 123, in *Octavo*, And afterwards on the Obligation of Oaths, he aſſerts, *That tho' we could deviſe ſome other meaning that might ſeem to make for us; yet if that was not meant at firſt Tendering, but otherwiſe underſtood by him that did take it,*

it, it will not Absolve from the Guilt of the Perjury; for an Oath is stricti juris, *and will not Admit, on any Respect, or any Account, of Interpretations Prejudicial to the Native Truth of it, lest it should be found to be according to* Psal. 24. 4. *a Swearing Deceitfully.* Ibid. Pag: 122. And afterwards he says, *Much less will it Exempt a Man from Guilt, that in Swearing, he had a meaning of the Words, contrary to what in Common Sence they bear, and in the Construction of all indifferent Persons,* sine juramento *or* Extra, *but it should be plain, single and clear.* Ibid. Pag. 123. And *Sanctum est Juramentum, ut sit vinculum veritatis inter homines, & testimonium quod Deus sit Author & Defensor Veritatis.* Pareus. in Catech. Urs. Part 2. Quest. 102. But in this I have failed, as is above declared, by my Sense and Accommodation I offered, which the Oath cannot bear, and which the Imposers never intended, nor would they ever have allowed, if they had understood it, which I industriously had a care they should not, and so took it in that Sence, *cum animo fallendi;* which cannot be in Truth, but most Derogatory both to the Truth and Simplicity of the Gospel. Neither can any Conscientious Man take it in Truth, according to their meaning, for then he should Swear it unlawful, ever to declare War against the King; and consequently, ever to rise in Arms against him upon any Pretence whatsomever; for if we may rise in Arms for our own Defence, we may and must declare a Defensive War (and indeed in themselves, as well as in their Sence and meaning, who impose them, these two Oaths, *never to rise in Arms against the King, and this of Abjuration,* are one and the same) then also should he Swear it unlawful at any Time, upon any Occasion, or for any Cause, to Kill any such as Serve his Majesty, in Church, State, Army or Country, either in Peace or War, for that's their Thoughts, *Et Sensus vel Juramenti ipsius, vel extra Juramentum,* and in part for their Exemption and Immunity from all condign Punishment or Opposition this Oath was Contrived. But in fine, how can this Oath be taken in Truth, when it is a denying the Truth, and a Subscribing to a manifest Falshood, invoking GOD to be Witness thereto? which how it can consist with the fear of GOD, or sincerity of the Heart, cannot be imagined, and if Conscience be called into Judgement, it will condemn. 2. This Oath cannot be taken in Judgement, that is, with Knowledge and Deliberation, minding and understanding what it is we Swear, as Mr. *Durham* explains it, *loco supra citato. Pag.* 119. For (1.) It cannot be taken in Judgement, because it is in it self Ambiguous; the Terms of it being capable of diverse Senses, not Explained by the Imposers, and if it were Explained in their Sense, then it could not be taken in Righteousness. All the Terms of it have much obscure Ambiguity, *Declaring of War,* and *Killing any who Serve the King,* may be constructed in several Senses, Good and Bad; but here they are indefinitly expressed and universally condemned, particularly

lastly that (IN SO FAR AS) hath several faces, which deceived me first and last, and can never be Sworn in Judgement; for if it denote a Causality, and signifie as much as *Quia* or *Quatenus*, then I must condemn universally, all Declarations of War against any that hath the Name of King whatsoever, upon whatsoever Grounds, and all the Killing of any Serving him, tho' in my own Defence, for a *quatenus ad omne valet Consequentia*. If it import a Restriction, excluding other things in the Declaration, but obliging to Abjure only that, then it implies, also an Affirmation that these two things are contained in it, which I knew to be false, as is proved before. If it be a Supposition or Condition, and to be interpreted for IF SO BE, then I know it to be uncertain, and that is dreadful to invoke the Majesty of GOD to be a Witness to an uncertainty, for that is to Swear with an Evil Conscience, and contempt of GOD, to dare to call Him as Witness of that which is in Suspense, whether it be Truth or a Lie, and such a Swearer must make it a Matter indifferent, whether he make GOD a Witness of a Truth or of a Lie in the Case. *Vid. Pareum loco supra citato, Pag:* 654. §. 4. Alas! I did not reflect on this, when afterwards I Subscribed it again, under this Notion. But next, it cannot be taken in Judgement, because it is imposed under a severe Penalty of Death, and so Extorted out of fear. All imposed and Extorted Oaths are by many Famous Divines Judged unlawful; especially Publick Oaths, imposed by Authority under colour of Law, that is worse than a Man's Private Oath, given to a Robber for fear of Death, if the Matter be unlawful; but whether the Matter be lawful or unlawful, such an Oath coacted and imposed by Law, cannot be taken in Judgement; for if it be taken out of respect to the Law, than its the Persons Suffrage to the equity of that Law, and an Approbation of the Imposition, which in the present case cannot be done by any Man of Conscience, for whether the Oath be lawful or not, the Authority imposing it is nought, and the Law Wicked, and can never be approven; and if it be Extorted out of Fear, then it cannot be taken with Deliberation, or Voluntarily and Unviolated Choice, and Unconstrained Light or Liberty; which are all the Ingredients of Judgement. 3. This Oath cannot be taken in Righteousness, that is, according to the Law of Equity as well as of Piety, neither wronging GOD nor others by our Oaths. Lawful Oaths should be in themselves *vincula equitatis*, as well as *veritatis*; And *Pareus* saith, *Loco Sup: Cit. Juramenta licita tantum ea sunt, quæ suscipiuntur de rebus veris, certo cognitis, licitis, Possibilibus & gravibus, necessarijs, utilibus & dignis. Lawful Oaths are only these which are engaged into about things true, certainly known, lawful, possible, weighty, necessary, useful and worthy*; and if that be true, then my Oath hath been a Flattering my

self

ſelf into a *Vinculum Iniquitatis*, a Bond of Iniquity, which, now when I think on it again, becomes a Gall of Bitterneſs; for the Matter of it is neither true, that the Declaration imports, ſo far as it is Repreſented in the Oath of Abjuration, neither is it certainly known, but by Collating the two together, the contrary will be certainly evident. Neither is it lawful (if it were true that ſuch Aſſertions were in it) to Abjure univerſally all Declarations of War againſt the King, and to Swear it unlawful for ever to Kill any, if he be once in the King's Service, in Church, State, Army or Country; neither is it poſſible to reduce this *Aſſertory* Oath into a *Promiſſory*, as moſt part of ſuch Oaths may, and do neceſſarily imply: For when I Swear ſuch a thing unlawful, it implies my Promiſe by vertue of the ſame Oath, never to Practiſe it, but it is not poſſible, as the Caſe ſtands, for a Man to bind up himſelf in every caſe from all declared War againſt the King, or from Killing ſome employed in his Service. What if I have a neceſſary call to joyn in Arms with the LORD's People, for the Defence of their Religion, Lives and Liberties againſt him? What if he Command a Maſſacre, ſhall I not defend my ſelf, or endeavour to Kill none of that Murdering Crew, becauſe they are in his Service? Was ever a Fool ſo Fettered? Neither is it of ſuch weight, as to be the occaſion of involving the whole Country in Perjury; as alas! by that Oath they have done. Neither is it now neceſſary, to make all Abjure a Declaration now out of date, ſince the Object of it, *Charles* the 2*d*. is Dead, and no viſible Party actually in Arms to Proſecute it. Neither is it of any uſe or Worth, but only Implicitly to gratifie their greedy Luſting after the Blood of Innocents, or the Blood of ſilly Souls, cheated by their Snares, by involving them in the ſame Sin of Perjury and Conſcience Debauching, falſe Swearing, whereof they themſelves are ſo hainouſly Guilty; but on the contrary, it is *Falſe, Uncertain, Unlawful, Impoſſible, Frivolous, Fruitleſs, Uſeleſs and Unworthy*, to the worſt degree of Baſeneſs, and, which is the worſt of all, dreadfully ſinful, and horrid to be thought on, to Interpoſe the Name of GOD upon it, making Him the Approver of what His Soul hates, and a Witneſs of that which He will be an Avenger of. Many other things I might add to Demonſtrate the Sinfulneſs of this ſlip, which I ſhall here forbear, referring to an Eſſay of Making this more Evident, in * a Paper which I mind to make more Publick.

* *Viz. The Hind let looſe.*

Immediately after this Fall, through Mercy I found the Smart of it, and the Senſe of it did ſtick long with a very piercing and preſſing Sorrow, which kept me down many a Day, and caſt me in the Deeps, which coſt me many a Cry, before I could get my Feet ſet on Dry Ground again, in ſo much, that I was like one dead among

among the living. The very first Night I returned to the Western Gallery, it was represented with such black and horrid Aggravations, that almost distracted me, which the more I thought on, it Multiplied the more Numerously; as some Letters I sent out to some Friends, while I was in that Condition, can yet Witness; But *Peter's look*, that he got after his denyal, did Comfort me, and I began to recover the hope of Pardon; but still I thought, *He would take Vengeance on my Inventions*, and that I had Forefaulted the Honour of ever being again imployed in any Service in the Work of the Gospel, as indeed I deserved to have been finally discarded out of his Service, for this never-enough to be hated unfaithfulness. As I found my self then discourted, the horrour whereof I cannot find Words to express; but when that Torture of a Wounded Conscience for sin was a little abated (I fear from an after-review of it, rather scurfed than cured) I had many tossings of Mind, and searchings of Heart, and perplexing Enquiries about what should be incumbent upon me as Duty, in a supposed Case, if I should be called before their Bloody ensnaring Courts again; whether I should be silent as to what I had done, if they did not bring it in Question again; or if I should plainly and positively retract and condemn it before them, for some Reparation of my Integrity, be the hazard what would. I imparted this doubt to, and sought Resolution in the case from several Friends, yet could not get any satisfying peremptory Detemination, until Holy Providence wonderfully did resolve me, as I shall by and by declare.

The Time I stayed in that Western Gallery, until I was disposed of in another Place, was about the space of five Weeks; all which time I never exercised Publickly, in that Society, in any Ministerial Duty, tho' I was much urged and importuned thereto, and upbraided for not joyning with the rest of the Ministers in taking turns with them, both by the Indulged themselves, who were sometimes sharp to my Face, and sometimes bitter in their Reflections behind my Back, as I both heard from some Reporters, and overheard my self, and also by other Ministers, whom I much Reverenced, who were not Indulged, who used unwearied Assiduous pains to draw me in; yet I durst not joyn after that manner with these who were Guilty of such a Defection, as that woful and wretched Indulgence was, which as to the Guilt of it, the Cry of it, and the sad Effects of it do yet remain, as a standing Ground of the LORD's controversie against the Church of *Scotland*, and as a Matter of Mourning and Humiliation for all *Zion's* Mourners; and a thing against which all that have any Zeal for *CHRIST* as King, should endeavour a Testimony, tho' the Men that had the Benefite or rather the Mischief of it, as being no more useful for the Indulgers design, are laid aside, and very Wickedly wronged, and I may say

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baſely and ungratefully requited, for their good Service, when for their remaining Honeſty they are Impriſoned This I thought was all the Teſtimony or Signification of my diſlike of, and diſapproving that Defection, that I was in a capacity to give at that time, and in all theſe Circumſtances; for other Practical Diſcountenancing, by withdrawing from hearing *I* could not uſe, being ſhut up at their Times of Exerciſe in the ſame Room with them, and when on the firſt Sabbath I Eſſayed to withdraw, and went out of the Room, I was taken and ſhut in again, and for my verbal Proteſtation, or entering in Diſputes with them, I was Conſcious of my own Inability, and fearful that the Truth might ſuffer by my weak Managing a Plea for it, or my ſelf might be confounded or inſnared; eſpecially at that Time, I was very averſe from ſuch intangling, incumbring Diſcompoſures of Spirit, and very indiſpoſed for ſuch Concertations, having my Spirit otherways Exerciſed; yet I was not altogether ſilent, but now and then as I had occaſion, endeavoured to maintain my Practiſe, and Proteſted my Deteſtation of their indirect Betraying of the Liberties of the Church of *Scotland* by that Defection, and could not eſcape ſome little heats about it. Nevertheleſs I cannot but acknowledge, they were very civil and courteous to, and tender of me, during my abode with them, and I believe in Charity, had ſympathy with me when I was gone; tho' ſome of them took ſome occaſion to be incenſed againſt me, for a Letter that was ſent to me from ſome Friend, reflecting upon the Indulgence: Among others of the Times ſins, which was loſt in the Tolbooth, and delivered to the Goodman or one of the Chief Keepers, and ſhewed to one of the Indulged, who thereupon was enraged at me, for no Fault of mine, and threatened to cauſe me be put in another Room on the other ſide, and accordingly (whether upon his Inſtigation or not, I ſhall not ſay, but ſhortly after) the Goodman gave Orders to remove me to the other ſide; but when I was preparing to go, by the Interceſſion of others, the Order was Countermanded, and I ſtayed a while longer.

The Council by this Time was thinking to diſpoſe of us otherwiſe than fell out; they ſent Indictments to a great many Priſoners, whom afterwards they ſent to *Dunnottar-Caſtle*, and afterthat to the *American Plantations*, and among the reſt I had one with the reſt that came in the Yacht from *London*, ſeverally by our ſelves, Charging us with the common Crimes of *not keeping our Pariſh Churches, Unlawful Marriages and Baptiſms, Reſetting of, and Converſing with Rebels, refuſing the Oath of Allegiance*, &c. and thereon were Cited to anſwer before the Council on the 3*th* of *April*; for which I was preparing, but the Dyet was not held with the reſt, and anticipated with me by a ſtrange Providence, which made a

Letter

Letter of mine fall into their Hands, which I had intended to ſend to *Holland*, directed to *John Balfour* to be Tranſmitted by him to others my Friends there; which was very ſtrangely ordered by Providence, both as to the diſcovery and effects of it, which brought me to very great Danger, very near to a Sentence of Death, beſides the Trouble it occaſioned to others. I had delivered it to a Woman to be delivered to ſome Seaman in *Borrowſtounneſs*, which was done, but it ſeems not with due Diſcretion:- However, in a Search of that Ship only to which he belonged, tho' others were going, and (as it was told me) of that Man only who had my Letter, none other being queſtioned, my Letter was found and brought to the Council. I had ordered therein the Anſwer to be directed to me under a Borrowed Name of *Target*, to be left in *Robert Young's* Wright, without his Knowledge altogether, yet becauſe of this he was Apprehended, Impriſoned, and afterwards ſent to *Dunnottar* with the reſt, and ſuffered very much and innocently, which was no ſmall Addition to my Grief. Of this I had no Advertiſement, nor any warning of my own appearing before the Council until the very inſtant of the Guards coming for me; yet I was not altogether ſurpriſed, but had a ſecret kind of Suggeſtion of great Trouble imminent, tho' I knew not what it would be; for that Afternoon expecting to go before the Council to Morrow, to anſwer to the foreſaid Indictment, being a little perplexed in the forethought of what Snares I might meet with, and about my Reſolution (I was hinting of before) of diſowning my former Deed, at length upon a Chair I fell aſleep, and ſlept till within half an Hour that I was called upon; in which ſleep I Dreamed, that I was preſently that Night to go through great and dangerous Troubles, and had the very Repreſentation of what I met with; which, when I awoke, put me to my Prayers, or otherways, it is like, I had been called without Recommending my ſelf to GOD; and I had ſcarce done, nay, before I came from my ſecret Retirement, ſuch as that Place afforded, which was only to caſt my ſelf down upon my Bed, I was roared upon to come down and go before the Council; ſo I went, knowing nothing of the Matter to be laid to my Charge. And for a Narration of that piece of Tryal, and what ſucceeded, I ſhall here Tranſcribe the Account that I wrote preſently after, as ſoon as I could get leaſure, which tho' the Prefaces be ſomewhat Prolix, (thinking then I ſhould poſſibly get Acceſs to leave no other Teſtimony before my Death but theſe Accounts) I ſhall not put in any other Dreſs than they were then conceived in. And as I have done before I ſhall Subjoin ſome Reflections I have had on theſe Paſſages after every Examination.

My ſecond Appearance before the Council upon the Account of my intercepted Letter, April 29, 1685.

BEing about to give a ſhort Narration to all my Friends concerned, for their Satisfaction, and to prevent Miſreports of my late, and probably the laſt Part of my Tryal, being now ſorely threatened with Death which in appearance is deſigned, and I cannot tell but may be determined by the Holy GOD, the LORD of my Life; and therefore I know not but this ſhort and confuſed Account may be all that I ſhall get leave to contribute for a Teſtimony to the Deſpiled and Perſecuted Intereſts of Truth and Duty, what I ſuffer for. I am taken in the Entry with Amazement in Reflecting upon the Stupendeous Wiſdom of Providence, that brought it about. O! the Admirable, & Adorable Wiſdom of GOD! that can make uſe of the Folly of ſuch a Nothing as I am to purchaſe the Glory of His own Wiſdom. O for Wiſdom to obſerve and take it up aright, and to Acknowledge it to his Praiſe, let it tend never ſo much to my own Shame. Let me Die a Fool, if my LORD glorifie His Wiſdom by, and over me, in a way of Mercy to me. The ſeveral Veſtiges of Divine Providence, as I have had ſome Experience of the moſt part of them that are Recorded in *Pſalm* 107 *throughout*, have been often refreſhing to me to ruminate upon; But I do think this Paſſage as obſervable as any I have met with, ſo that upon the ſerious Reflection upon it, to the end I may make the right uſe of it, I deſire, for my ſelf and others, to be qualified with that Wiſdom, and to experience the Truth of that Promiſe in the Concluſion of that *Pſalm*, *Whoſo is wiſe and will obſerve theſe things, even they ſhall underſtand the Loving Kindneſs of the LORD*. I hope that howſoever terrible this Diſpenſation, bringing about my Tryal in ſuch a manner, be, and however Declarative of my much condemned Folly and Raſhneſs (which I ſhall not trouble the World much to juſtifie) yet in the end it ſhall be Productive of much Loving Kindneſs to me.

After my former Appearance before the Juſticiary, when I took the Oath of Abjuration, renouncing *the Apologetical Declaration* of the poor, deſpiſed, diſowned, wandering, perſecuted Party in *Scotland*, now ſtated in greateſt Danger; *I* was much grieved and troubled in my Conſcience, for what *I* had done, both for the Manner, in ſuch a Sophiſticating Way of Equivocation, without a plain and clear Teſtimony to what either I owned, or diſowned; and for the Matter, renouncing and abjuring the Lawfulneſs of that, or other Declarations of War againſt the King, founded upon the Principles of our Covenants, and Work of Reformation; together with the diſowning of the Methods there threatned to be fallen upon, for their own ſtrengthening, and weakening and over-

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awing the Enemies, which to me ſeems to import an indirect (at leaſt) a juſtifying of their ſhedding of their Blood uncontrolledly, in ſuch Aboundance, at leaſt, a baſe tranſacting with the Enemy, which is impoſed as a Teſt of our Loyalty to CHRIST's Enemies; and upon ſeveral Grounds, which I had a Mind to have made apparent to the World, in a Paper by it ſelf, I ſhall not enlarge upon now. But, I ſay, being wounded and ſmitten in my Mind, *I* was anxiouſly deſiring of the LORD, Reſolution, if ever I came before them again, to reſile from, and retract what *I* had done, and teſtifie my Abhorrence of my own Deed, which ſome can witneſs, to whom I imparted it: Many Doubts and Toſſings of Mind I had about it, what I was called to do in the Caſe; but the Intervention of holy Providence reſolved the Caſe unavoidable. *I* had written a large Letter to *Holland*, to be communicate to ſome Friends there, wherein I gave a Relation of all that had paſt, and all my Interrogations, and Anſwers; wherein alſo I did expreſs more fully my Mind, both concerning the Authority, and my Reſentment of that Oath, I had taken, with ſome Reflections upon the Juſticiary, as Murderers of the LORD's People, with whom I had thereby ſaid, *A Confederacy*. This Letter incloſed in another ſhorter, inſtructing how the Anſwer ſhould be directed to me, under a borrowed Name, fell into the Hands of my Enemies (how, or when, or where I cannot tell, GOD will diſcover that alſo in due Time) and ſo was carried to the Chancellor, who thereupon held a Committee of the Council upon me; the Commiſſioner *Queensberry*, being preſent, before whom, upon the 29*th* of *April*, I was brought, about 7 a Clock at Night, expecting nothing like it, but lookingto have been called the Day following to anſwer to a general Indictment with others. But the LORD had appointed my Trial otherwiſe to be ſtaged, and interrogate upon this Matter only, which now I would give a ſhort Account of; but by Reaſon of my Confuſions, and the Length of Time after my Appearance, in which *I* had no Occaſion to write, being kept in the Court of Guard among Soldiers, *I* cannot give a perfect Relation, but ſhall only hint at the Purport of my Examination, and what I confeſſed.

At my firſt coming in, and taking the Place appointed for my ſtanding before the Council Table, the Chancellor, who managed all the Diſcourſe, firſt asked, *How long I had been a Priſoner, and how I had ſpent my Time under my Affliction?* I told him, *I* had been a conſiderable Time there, and no doubt I might have ſome ſad Reflections on my Negligence, and other Miſcarriages, but that *I* endeavoured to improve my Time as well as I could. He then asked, *What Reſentments I had of all that I had done, ſince I came into this Condition?* At which, ſmelling a little what he in-

tended

tended, I answered, That all my Actions were so tainted with Infirmities and Imperfections, that upon a Review, I could reflect on few of them, but with regrate, and a sad Heart. Then he asked, *What I thought of my taking the late Oath of Abjuration, which I had subscribed before the Lords of Justiciary?* I said first, That I thought that had been over, and the Court had been satisfied in that Part. What was done, could not be undone, or called in Question. He replied something to this Purpose, *That he was certainly informed, That I was sorry for what I had done; and therefore had resiled from it, and so it could give neither Satisfaction, nor Security of my Peaceableness, or Principles that were tollerable, and therefore willed me to be ingenuous*; and harangued somewhat largely to this Purpose. I answered, That I loved to be ingenuous, and was a Person that was both unskilful in, and an Abhorrer of Equivocations, but loved Plainness and Christian Simplicity, in things that *I* had a Clearness to own or confess. *He told me, They would then take a Proof of it, and that now I had an Opportunity to show it.* I answered, *I* would then take that Opportunity, to show them that I had been under the Trouble and Horror of a wounded Conscience, for taking that Oath, and that *I* thought *I* had done ill in it, both as to the Matter and Manner: In the Manner, that when *I* could not preserve the Liberty of my Mind, but must needs discover it, *I* had used such Shifts and Evasions, that I thought were not so suitable to that Plainness and Simplicity, that my Circumstances and Profession did call for, and that I had given a Sense wherein *I* would take it, which upon Second-Thoughts, I found the Oath (as conceived in such Terms) was not capable of; and so I gave an Account of the Sense I offered, which was then accepted. He asked, *What I had to say to the Matter of it, which he wondered any Man of Sense could scruple at it.* I enquired what the Design, or Reason might be of this Re-examination, or if he required *I* should take it again. He told me, *The Reason I should know by and by, and certified, That if I did not take it again, and retract such Fancies, my Life should go for it; and therefore bade me be well advised.* I answered somewhat to this Purpose, that *I* would not lose my Life for Fancies; but the Exercise of a wounded Conscience for Sin, was no Fancy. I had felt the Anguish thereof in earnest, *I* had no Peace in what *I* had done, and *I* durst not do it again for the World; I reckoned that I had by disowning that Declaration, given my Assent to the Representation of it in the Proclamation, that it is founded upon Principles inconsistent with Government, and that it asserted the Lawfulness of killing all imployed by the King, which was an Untruth; and that *I* thereby disowned all our Covenants, and the Way of carrying on the Work of Reformation there adhered to, and all other faithful Declarations of a Defensive War. Several

veral other Things I mentioned in it, which were great Sins to abjure. He replied, *That no more was enjoined by it, but to abjure it,* IN SO FAR AS, *it declares War againſt the King; and aſſerts,* &c. But *I* could not make ſuch Diſtinctions, and did not think it did aſſert any ſuch thing. Several other things paſt in Diſcourſe, that I cannot particularly remember; but the chief thing inſiſted on, was, *the intercepted Letter.* After having asked, *If I had any Correſpondence with* Holland? Which I ſaid, I had ſometimes. Then cauſing the Letter be produced, he asked, *If I owned it to be mine, with its Subſcription?* I ſaid, That was my Name at the Tail of it, and the Hand was very like mine. *Well,* ſaid he, *now be ingenuous, there's an Occaſion for it, you have been communicating to your Friends a Relation of your Sufferings, and this you have intended, as your Teſtimony, in Caſe you ſhould be hanged, and now it is very like you will be hang'd; and therefore do not diſown your own Teſtimony, otherwiſe we will hold you to be the greateſt Diſſembler with GOD and Man in the World. We know it to be your's; none other could communicate ſuch Paſſages.* Whereupon I found my ſelf, both obliged and prompted to own it, and every thing that was in it; and ſaid, I had wrote ſuch a Letter to ſuch a Perſon, by him to be communicated to others, for their Satisfaction and Sympathy, and if that was adulterated, it was very cunningly done. Then he went through the Parts of it, and examined me about Defenſive Arms, and Reſiſtance of Kings (I cannot remember the Particulars) and about my owning the preſent King, to be my lawful Sovereign. I told them, I was a Subject, and content to be one, in Subjection to any Government, which Providence ſets over us; but for owning the preſent Conſtitution of it, as GOD's Appointment, and according to Law, I durſt not give an active Acknowledgement of it, nor own any as my Lawful Sovereign, but in the Terms of the Covenant. SO FAR AS it may conſiſt with the Security of Religion and Liberty. He asked, *If I owned that Part of my Letter, aſſerting in my Conference with Sir* William Paterſon, *That I thought not Hereditary Succeſſion enough, to make any Man King?* I anſwered, *I* did own it; *I* thought that could only give him a Right to be King, whom the Repreſentatives might ſet over them; but did not formally make him King, till the People make a Compact with him, upon Terms according to Law, and for the Safety of their deareſt and neareſt Liberties. Then asked, *If I owned Defenſive Arms? I* affirmed, *I* did; and ſeveral things were agitated thereupon; Many Threats reiterated, many Expoſtulations to conſider theſe Points ſeriouſly, before *I* ventured my Life upon them. Many ſolemn Aſſeverations, That they had no Deſire of my Blood. Among other things the Chancellor dehorted me, *That I ſhould not ſtand upon Points of Honour; becauſe it might be thought a Shame to retract.* I told

told him, *I* had no Honour to look to, but Honesty; and *I* would stand upon Point of Conscience, till it be better informed. Then *I* was asked, *Who that Mr.* Forbes *was, that the Letter was directed to?* I refused to answer at first, and gave several Declinatures. They asked, *If I would swear, that was his true Name?* I answered, *I* would swear none at this Time; but *I* could say, That was the Name *I* knew him best by, and corresponded with him under. *Then they would have me to declare, if he had no other Name, and if I knew he made Use of no other.* After several shifting Refusals, they threatened me with Torture. *I* told them, *I* was a weak Man; Torture might extort from me a great deal more than was true, or I knew of; but said, *I* will confess as well without it as with it. Then said he, *As you have been ingenuous hitherto in other Things, be so in this:* But, said I, it is not alike, in other Things I prejudge, or endanger none but only my self; in this I may bring my Friend to Trouble, who is altogether innocent: And it being a Criminal Matter, declared by Law, to have Correspondence with some Persons, I cannot confess, without knowing what Security *I* shall have, that that Confession shall not militate against my Life. Then the King's Advocate offered the King's Security, and the Commissioner and Chancellor said, they would attest it, and *I* might bring them in as Witnesses, if I be condemned upon that Head. Then I was prevailed with, but with great Reluctancy, and after many Threats, to tell them, that it was *John Balfour.* Then they cried out upon me, *Why I would make Friendship with a Murderer!* I said, I did not look upon him as such, but as a Man, whom *I* might converse with profitably. I had found Courtesies from him. They asked, *What I thought of the Bishop's Murder, and what he said of it?* I answered, I never heard him discourse much upon it, & for my part, I have not such competent Knowledge of the Circumstances of it, as to pass a Judgment of it; but I thought it a Case somewhat extraordinary, not to be brought to an ordinary Practice. *I* was not much concerned to enquire into it. *I* had almost forgot a Passage about the Letter, I know not if *I* place it, in its proper Order; but thus it was. I had desired an Answer of the Letter, to be directed to me under the Name of Mr. *Target*, to be left with *Robert Young* Wright. They asked me, *Who was this Mr.* Target? I told them, *I* would not stand to reveal that, because it would not prejudge any Body, but my self. So I told them, it was my self, being my own Name in another Word of the same Signification. Then they asked, *Who this* Robert Young *was?* I told he was known well enough, otherwise I would not discover, for he was as innocent as the Child unborn in that Matter; for I never told him any thing of it, neither did *I* ever so much as reveal my borrowed Name to him. In End the Chancellor took me aside

ſide, and entred into a large Debate about *Reſiſtance of the Supreme Powers, to which*, he ſaid, *all theſe Opinions were reducible, as to their Fountain*. I cannot remember the Particulars of it, and ſeveral other things I have miſſed, in the foregoing Account; but the iſſue was great and peremptory Threatenings of Death, to which *I* replied, *What Profit is in my Blood?* And that they would have but ſmall Confidence, in rendering an Account of it before the Supreme Judge. Several Things were offenſive to them in my Diſcourſe (in which perhaps *I* was too tender of Irritation) which hindered my Freedom: But among the reſt, my not giving them the Titles of *Grace*, tho' *I* called them *Lords*; for I remember at the Beginning, the Commiſſioner asked, *if I knew who I was before?* I ſaid, I knew not particularly. Well ſaid he, *That's my Lord high Chancellor of* Scotland, *that ſpeaks to you.* Then the other replyed, *You are before his Grace, my Lord his Majeſty high Commiſſioner, repreſenting the Perſon of the King himſelf.* I ſaid nothing. One little Paſſage I remarked, that their very Dogs were enraged againſt me; for as I was ſpeaking, and they to me, ſomewhat loudly, the Commiſſioner's Dog came out from under the Table, and leapt upon my Breaſt in great Fury, and bite my Coat, and made ſuch a Noiſe with his Barking, that he got all the Speech himſelf, till commanded out of the Room. I was kept a long time before them; then commanded to the Tolbooth, and kept cloſe Priſoner, and Order was given, That none ſhould ſpeak to me, not ſo much as the Keepers themſelves; but when I came there, no Room could be found for me; and thereupon the Goodman made an Addreſs to the Chancellor, ſhowing, This Order could not be obeyed; therefore, he gave Command, That *I* ſhould be carried to the Court of Guard, and there kept in cloſe Cuſtody, till furder Order, which was done.

In this Diſcourſe, which I was ſo ſurpriſingly hurried into, and upon a Matter I did not Dream of, on an Occaſion I was no way fearing, tho' I wanted not my own Conſternations, that did much daunt and diſorder my Spirit; yet I may ſay, looking to Him, I found His ſecret Strengthenings, and I rejoiced more when I came back, tho' loaden with the greateſt Threatenings, than when I went before them, in Expectation of no ſuch Severity, yea more than ever I did in any return before, and in reflecting on it, I had ſome quieting Peace, that I got my Mind exonerated of that diſcruciating Suſpenſe I had been in, by my declared diſowning of the Oath. But now when I take a more narrow Survey of it, than in thoſe doubtful and Diſtracting Circumſtances, I was then in capacity to take, I am diſſatisfied with ſeveral things in it, beſides my Confuſion of Spirit palpable through the whole, and my faintneſs in flenching from what in the caſe might have been expected from me, ſo

ſtated; chiefly theſe Two, 1. That I ſhould have been ſo whidled into ſuch a ſimple Confeſſion, as to own that Letter to be mine, out of a ſilly ſcarring at their Reproach of Diſſembling, which I think, I needed not to have valued from them; but rather rejoiced at it when I gave them no Ground for it, and could have eaſily vindicate my ſelf from their Imputation; not that I needed to be aſham'd of the Letter, which to their own Conviction contained a true Repreſentation of things, ſome of them were always Witneſſes to, and as to the *Subject* of it in ſome Particulars it was indiſpenſible Duty to own, when queſtioned thereupon; but this I might have done by owning the Truths therein contained, without Owning, or denying the Letter to be mine, for that, as a Matter of Fact, I ſhould have put to their Probation, which they could not have evinced by my Subſcription in Law, one Hand being like another, and ſo I ſhould have had more Peace in having my Sufferings ſtated on theſe Truths inſerted there, and not upon the Letter as mine; and I ſhould not have given ſuch a bad Precedent for their illegal inquiſition upon intercepted Letters, which in ſome caſes are very inconvenient to confeſs, if I had not owned that Letter. 2. That after my Reluctancy to give an Account of that Perſons Name to whom I directed the Letter, I ſhould have been prevailed with to detect his right Name, for fear of Torture, and upon ſuch ſlender Security. I do not think the Matter ſimply ſinful always, to diſcover a Man's Name when he is out of the reach of Hazard thereby, and whom the thing diſcovered in his Name will not endanger him, more than if it had not been diſcovered at all, and eſpecially when ſuch a diſcovery is made as if rather an avowing a Correſpondence with him, than an Information againſt him, which was my caſe upon the Matter, but to be forced to this for fear of Torture; and beſides it is to be ſuſpected that the ſame fear might have influenced me to diſcover others to their Detriment; but to do it upon ſuch Security, or to depend upon their Word, who have Foreſeited all Faith, I judge a great deal worſe. However this was never brought to a Tryal, for I was not Staged upon this Head.

My Examination before the Juſticiary, on the foreſaid Intercepted Letter, April 30, 1685.

THE following Day being *Thurſday* (if I right remember, I cannot poſitively tell, ſo much time interveening before I could have Time or Opportunity to write any thing) being, if I reckon right, the 30th Day of *April*, I was conducted by Soldiers from the Court of Guard, to the Court of Juſticiary, to be Tryed, and then upon Report given in to them of my Examination before the Council: At my firſt Entry, the Advocat fell to upbraid me, for my fooliſh Fancies and Dangerous Notions, and

and Seditious Letters ſent abroad, wherein I aſperſed the Courts of Juſtice, and abuſed their Favours, under the Odious Names of Snares and Flatteries, and accounted my Satisfaction to the Law a Complyance. *What Nonſence is that* (ſaid he) *what a Fool are you?* I anſwered meekly, I would not ſtand much to vindicate it from Folly; I have often been accounted a Fool, but I meant Honeſty, and do yet. But, ſaid he, *How come you to ſay, We flatter'd you? We do not think you worthy of Flatteries.* I replied, I hoped they did not think me worthy of their Wrath neither. Then they produced my Letter, and asked, *If I would own it to be mine?* I craved Leave to read it, and ſome would have me read it out, and ſome were againſt it; ſo I turn'd over the Heads of it, and then ſaid, I would not take up much time, nor uſe many Defences. I had acknowledg'd it before the Council, and would not deny it now. The Letter there ſhews, ſaid I, what Trouble was upon my Spirit for ſome thing that I had done to pleaſe Your Lordſhips, the laſt Time I was here. I adore the Providence which hath diſcovered it, which obliges me to Ingenuity. I think the next they asked, was, *What induced me to write ſuch a Letter?* I anſwered, Only to inform my Friends of my Caſe, and State of my Sufferings. They aggravated it much from the Perſon to whom I had directed it, but never a word of *John Balfour* expreſly, as I remember. I was asked, *If I would diſown my own Deed, in ſubſcribing the Oath of Abjuration, or was ſorry for what I had done?* I anſwered, That I would not deny but I had ſubſcribed it, but I was really ſorry that I had done it, and hinted ſome Reaſons for it. Then the Clerk drew up a kind of Confeſſion of it, and asked, *if I would tear my Name from the Oath?* I anſwered, They had my Name there, and they might do with it as they pleaſed, my Subſcription I thought ſatisfied the Law, and *I* had not as yet tranſgreſſed it. Then *I* was told *I* muſt ſubſcribe the Confeſſion, which was delivered to me. When *I* read it, *I* did not like ſome thing of the wording of it; and therefore chus'd rather to tear my Name from the Paper. Then ſome told me ſomething to this purpoſe, That *I* had hang'd my ſelf! The Lord helped me to take it reſolutely, and to anſwer, but *I* cannot remember the Words. Then they proceeded to ask, *If I owned what I ſaid in the Letter, about Authority?* I anſwered, I would retract nothing in the Letter, but then they would needs have my Judgment over again, *Whether I own'd the preſent King or not?* *I* anſwered, That *I* had ſaid much to that already, and more than *I* was willing to ſay; I could very well live in Subjection to him, but for owning him, I had very little Skill what it meant. But, ſaid I, That Your Lordſhips may ſee I am plain, I will take my Meaſures in that Matter from our Fathers, before the late Revolution; I cannot own

him otherways, or in no other Terms, than the Church and State of *Scotland* owned King *Charles* 2*d*, before he was crowned, who then only had an Hereditary Right to the Kingdom's Crown, and they admitted him upon the Terms of the Covenant; and if this King's Authority be not ſtated and founded upon, and bounded by Terms, giving Security to Religion and Liberty, I cannot own him: And ſo the Clerk ſet down in ſhort, *That I would not own him, but according to the Covenant*; which I was not well pleas'd with, becauſe that they might think, *That I own'd him according to the Covenant.* But I would fain have had that Queſtion over, and ſo would not wrangle any more about it. Then I was queſtioned, *If I own'd Defenſive Arms?* Which I affirm'd I did in ſome caſes. Then was asked, *If I thought riſing at* Bothwel-Bridge *was Rebellion?* *I* anſwered, I durſt not ſay it was. Theſe are the moſt Material Paſſages that I can remember; only when all was done, I was required to ſubſcribe my Confeſſion; I anſwered, that was needleſs, ſeing I owned the Subſcription of the Letter, wherein all was inſert, and they would find me always ingenuous. *It* was reply'd, *It was neceſſary. What? was I aſhamed of my Confeſſion, that I would not own it? would I ſay any thing that I durſt not ſubſcribe?* To which I anſwered, That *I* was not aſhamed, and ſo ſubſcrib'd to every part of it before them. After the Juſticiary had done with me, and after Threatenings of Death, and of an *Indictment* they would ſend me, and that *I* needed not to expect *I* ſhould live many Days; they asked, from what Priſon *I* came? the Corporal of the Squade of Soldiers being preſent, anſwered, *I* came from the Guard, where *I* was Priſoner by the *Chancellor's* Order; ſo they ſaid they would not alter the *Chancellor's* Order, and accordingly commanded to take me thither again, which was done: And there *I* remained four or five Days after that, where *I* found very great Civility of the Soldiers, more than *I* expected; albeit *I* was kept cloſs, and ſhut up from all Converſe with my Friends, none being admitted to come and ſpeak with me, but by Order from the Officers: And ſo ſtrict was the Prohibition, that one of the Centinels, for allowing one to come in and ſee me, without a Warrant, was laid in the *Irons* awhile. *It* was a ſad Priſon, in reſpect of want of Retirement, yet *I* bleſs the LORD, I found His preſence there, Sometimes in the Night Seaſon. I thought I had an offered opportunity to make my Eſcape, but always as I was preparing for it, which I durſt not attempt without conſulting GOD, I was diſappointed by ſome coming in, ſo that I remarked it by a clear Determination of Providence, that I ſhould be brought to further Tryal, which I bleſs His Holy Name, I got Submiſſion to without Murmuring.

This is but a rude and imperfect account, which the length of Time interveening

interveening, before I could get leasure or conveniency to write, occasioned; for in the Guard *I* could get none written, yet in recollecting my Thoughts and Reflections upon it, I had much calmness and peace of Mind, and much joy that *I* had torn my Name from the Paper, confirming my hope, that the iniquity of that former sinful Subscription was blotted out through Mercy; so that all the while I abode in the Guard, tho' in the midst of my Disturbances, and under the continued Prospect of threatening Death, I was pretty chearful. But in this review, I find cause of shame, in consideration both of the Omissions and Fainting back-drawings discernable in it, and also the folly and unadvised Rashness that I see in it. I shall here touch only three Remarks of it. 1. That *I* might have easily discovered their drift and design in this Criminal Re-examination and Multiplying all these Questions, that it could not be to get an account of my Principles, and to try my mind about these Particulars, for that they had in the Letter before them; but either to confound me, or intrap and involve me in Contradictions, by wresting my Words, or insnare me in Sin, by Hectoring me into a Retraction; or to secure themselves under the shadow of their Law, in Murdering me with more formality, which they took advantage by my simplicity; for there was something peculiar in my case, which made their Ordinary Practick fail. They knew very well that my Extrajudicial Confession before the Council, could not sustain in their own Law, as a sufficient Proof, that the Letter was mine, if I had denyed it before them; and that was not sufficient neither by their Law to take away my Life, since the Letter gave only an Account of what I had declared to themselves, before Satisfaction given to their Law, by my taking the Oath, with a Resentment of that Deed, which is not a Transgression of a Law; for no Satisfaction with, or Repentance for Obedience to a Law, can be of it self a Transgression of that Law. Therefore they urged the Tearing of my Name from the Rolls of Court, that so they might proceed against me, as if I had never Subscribed; and when that was done, they would accumulate Matter of Crime against me, for a further Declaration of my mind, and adhering to all the Particulars of the Letter about Authority, Defensive Arms, *&c.* Now this Drift I might easily have discovered, and in that case should have given them more ado, and cut out more Work to them to prove their Charge, being Criminal, or to streach their Law, and strain it beyond Formality, that so my Murder might be made more manifest. This way I should rather have tryed, tho' I am glad my Name was torn off. 2. That I was very inconsideratly rash beyond an Apology, when I offered to take my Measures in owning this Tyrant from our Fathers Carriage to the former, before he was Crowned (tho' I Principally had an

Eye

Eye to the *Weſt Kirk Remonſtrance*, wherein conditionally, except it were upon the Terms of the Covenant, he was declined) for the difference between this Monſter, now graſſant in his avowed overturning all Rights Sacred and Civil, and that Man only then *Tyrannus in ſpem*, who then for any thing that appeared Publickly, was thought capable of Government, is very obviouſly vaſt, eſpecially that I ſhould have ſo ſimply conſented to the Clerk's foiſting in that two faced Equivocating Clauſe in my Confeſſion, *that I would not own him but according to the Covenant*, out of a fainting Fooliſh fear, declining to Witneſs it; whereas it was a baſe imputation upon the Covenant, as if it could conſiſt with any manner of owning him. This is ſuch a Daſh to my ſilly Teſtimony, that I bluſh to reflect upon it. 3. That I was very ſillily catched into that intrigue of Subſcribing my own Confeſſion, upon a Fooliſh Pretence, leſt I ſhould be repute aſhamed of my own Confeſſion: For indeed as it ſtood according to the Clerk's Draught, I might have been aſhamed of it; and it was more ſhameful to Subſcribe it in theſe Terms, having ſuch a Clauſe in it as is above mentioned, and it could be no ſhame to decline the giving them Satisfaction in all Advantages they were ſeeking againſt me, and might rather be accounted ſhameful to give them ſuch Security, when they would not truſt my Ingenuity. And certainly all blacking Paper with them is inconvenient, either in Obedience to their Commands, for that is a Complyance, or in Compoſition with their Offers, for that is a ſinful Accommodation; or as a Seal to a Teſtimony (under which Notion I looked upon my Subſcription) for that is needleſs, being more ſignificantly done by ſtanding out to the laſt, eſpecially it is never to be conſented to, when a Man hath not the Penning or wording of his own Confeſſion, but muſt take it, as they expreſs it. Theſe things I reflect upon as very Material Eſcapes which made way for ſadder Lapſes following.

I ſtayed in the Guard about ſix or ſeven Days, in the which Time, I had ſeveral Offers of making my eſcape, but the LORD's Time was not come. Every Evening before Night I went out with a Centinel or two to the *North-loch*, where I might have eaſily eſcaped; but being then very weak in my Body, I durſt not adventure to run, but with all eaſe I might have been Reſcued, which at length was propoſed, and by me accepted, and expected upon the fourth or fifth of *May*, ſome Friends thinking to Tryſt with me at the *Loch-ſide*: But I adore His Holy Counſel, who ordered every Step of my Tryal beſides, and beyond my forecaſtings, for that ſame Afternoon I was carried to the Tolbooth and put into the Gentleman's Chamber with my Comrads. Next Day I was brought before the Lords of the Articles, whereof the Account follows.

My

My Examination before the Lords of the Articles, May 5, 1685.

IT will be thought a ſtrange thing by all that know ſuch a poor Creature of ſo little figure, and Obſcure repute in the World, ſhould make ſuch a Noiſe in the Talk, and be ſo much noticed in the Obſervation of Men at this Time; and eſpecially it will be no ſmall Wonder to them to think, that any diſcovery of my poor inſignificant Judgment of things, or any thing that ever I could ſay or do, ſhould be thought of ſuch importance, as to the Matter of the Cognizance or indignation of Men of Eminency, who are intruſted with the Affairs of the Nation. Surely it will be matter of Amazement to all my Acquaintances to hear, that not only the Council and Juſticiary, but alſo the Parliament of *Scotland*; and the firſt Parliament after ſo notable a Revolution, having ſo weighty Matters on Hand, and ſo great Deſigns on Foot, ſhould be at leaſure to take to themſelves the Diverſion of hearing and trying my Cauſe. But it is not becauſe it is mine, but becauſe on this Occaſion ſome Memory of the LORD's Work and of his Truths, ſometimes terrible to them, always hateful, is revived; and therefore they would make a Publick Example of me, and give a ſpecimen of their and their King's reſolved and intended Oppoſition to the Work of Reformation, and all its Principles, and ſubſervient Truths and Duties thereby owned. It is very low with the Intereſt of CHRIST, when it hath no better Patrons than ſuch a pitiful Creature as I am, to own it in the Supreme Judicatories of the Nation: And this may let the World ſee what a caſe *Scotland* is in this Day, and how far Degenerate from, and how Oppoſite to that Reformation, and the Principles thereof, ſo Eminently owned therein in former Times; and how much they are ſet to deſtroy the Memory of it, that the moſt inſignificant of Men that dare vent any Reſpect or Love to it, and dare not abandon the Conſcience of Duty, and their Judgments blindly, will not eſcape the Cognizance and ſevereſt Cenſures of our Convocations of Eſtates, a ſad and certain Demonſtration of the wickedneſs of the Deſign carried on, to introduce Popery and Slavery, and a lamentable Prognoſtick of Deſolation and Judgments coming upon this Generation. However, this is now my Tryal, and I adore the Providence, that hath brought me to it: To anſwer for a Diſcovery I made of ſome Principles, obnoxious to the Now current Law, in that Letter mentioned in the laſt Account. In Purſuance of which Tryal, I was called before the Lords of the Articles (preparing things for the Parliament's Cognition) upon the Fourth or the Fifth of *May*, having been brought to the Tolbooth from the Guard the Day before. I was brought before them by a Macer; the Chancellor had the Diſcourſe to me; and firſt went over all the Articles of my former Examination, before the Juſticiary ſeverally.

And

and asked, if *I* had done, and answered so as was there reported, and registred in the Clerk's Papers, to wit, if *I* owned that to be my Letter, *&c.* *I* answered, *I* did, tho' *I* was not obliged to confess it; yet *I* durst not equivocate, since Providence had brought it into their Hands; what *I* owned before, *I* will not retract or disown now. He produced another Paper, and asked, *If I would own my tearing my own Name from the Oath formerly subscribed by me?* (which he read to make the thing odious) *I* answered, *I* did so, *I* thought I did it at the Command of the Court; but the Truth was, *I* was not very well pleased to have my Name there. Then *I* heard several of those that sat by, saying, *He is very ingenuous.* Then *I* was urged to tell, *What induced me to refile from that Oath, and how came it that I was not satisfied with it, having expressed my Satisfaction with it before?* *I* answered, My former Deed might have given Satisfaction to the Law, whether I had been satisfied with it or not; I did not intend to make such a Noise of any publick Contradiction to it, had not this Providential Discovery obliged me to it. But further urging me, *What made me dissatisfied with the Oath?* I answered, That *I* was very well satisfied with it at first, thinking it obliged me only to disown those Principles and inferences fixed thereupon in the Proclamation, where the Oath was insert, which yet I am ready to declare my Abhorrence of; and so I offered a kind of a Sense to salve the Matter; but upon an after-View, and serious ruminating upon the Thing more narrowly, I found, I had disowned things in the Complex in that Declaration, which when it came to Particulars, I durst not do: For *I* durst not disown these Covenants they declare an Adherence to, nor the Declarations there insinuate, nor the Principle of Defensive Arms, the whole is founded upon. Several things past here, which have escaped my Memory: Only *I* remember, there were some Reflections upon that Principle of *Defensive Arms*, as being the Spring of all these Errors, that such as *I* maintained; that that Notion was the Thing that destroyed and seduced us all. Then it was put to me, *If I would yet subscribe that Oath, and disown these Things, and save my Life?* I answered, That I was one that had some Experience what a wounded Spirit was, and had felt the Torture of a wounded Conscience; and that therefore I durst not provock GOD against the Light thereof, for all the Lives of the World. Then I was questioned, *about owning the King, as my Lawful Sovereign, whether I owned my answer before the Justiciary?* I repeated my former Answer, as to the Purport of it; and added, That I never meddled much with those Things, as being somewhat above my Sphere, and out of my Line; but seing they would needs have my simple Judgment about it, I looked upon owning, as all the Suffrage I can give in my Station; and as for *Hereditary Succession*

ceſſion, I do not very well underſtand it. Then I was asked, *If I owned that Part of my Letter, giving an Account of my Sentiments about Hereditary Succeſſion, that by the Conſtitution of our Government, it might give a Man a Right to be made King, upon Terms of ſecuring Laws, Religion and Liberty, but it could not formally make him King?* Then I was asked, *if I owned Defenſive Arms?* And this was the chief thing inſiſted on, and to which the whole Conteſt was reduced. I aſſerted it to be a Principle ſo rational, that I could not diſown it. I was urged, *In what Caſes I would ſay Reſiſtance of the Supreme Powers was lawful?* I anſwered, the Caſes were ſo many, that I could not enumerate them. In ſome Caſes *I* doubted not but they themſelves would allow it; as in the Caſe of manifeſt Tyranny, everting all the Ends of Government; in the Caſe of a King's alienating his Kingdom, *&c.* The Chancellor replied, *None of theſe Caſes could juſtifie any Reſiſtance hath been made in this Nation; and therefore urged me, what Caſes I could allow, that were applicable?* I anſwered, I thought that when a Covenanted King doth oppreſs his Subjects, and doth invade his Subjects Civil and Religious Rights, and Lives and Fortunes, and ſends out his Emiſſaries to oppreſs their Perſons and Conſciences, *&c.* and no Redreſs can be had, or hoped by any Addreſs, Remonſtrance or Petition, all ſuch Repreſentations of Grievances being declared againſt Law, and interdicted under ſevere Penalties of Treaſon, *&c.* That then and in that Caſe, and others the like, there was nothing left a People, but make Uſe of that Principle, which the GOD of Nature, and the Law of Nature, and the Practice of Nations did allow, to defend themſelves againſt unjuſt Violence. He ſaid, *If in that Defence, they would kill no Body, or uſe no Violence.* I anſwered, That was inſeparable from War. I was asked, *if* Bothwel-Bridge *was Rebellion?* I anſwered as before. Then being asked, *if I was there? I* anſwered, *I* could not think that their Lordſhips did entertain any ſuch Jealouſie of me; or that they thought *I* was a Perſon fit to paſs Muſter in any Army, either for the King, or againſt him. At which all the Houſe laughed. And the Chancellor replied, *That I might have a good Will for the Work for all that.* I was ſilent. Then the Prelates that were preſent whiſpered ſomewhat to the Commiſſioner, and he to the Chancellor, who told me, *That their Lordſhips the Biſhops were deſirous of a Conference with me, and did offer it, and he willed me to accept of it.* I ſaid, *I* was at Command, to confer with any their Lordſhips pleaſed. Then he fell upon other Queſtions, about my being abroad, and asked, *if I was the Preacher at that Meeting, where we were taken at* London? *I* anſwered, *I* was. *Are you in Orders,* ſaid he? *I* anſwered, *I* had a Call to preach the Goſpel. *From what Biſhop* (*Mr.* Shields) ſaid he, *did you receive your Orders?* I anſwered, From no one

Biſhop, but from a Colledge of Presbyterian Biſhops. Then they all laughed, and ſaid, *Theſe are Biſhops indeed! But*, ſaid he, *who were they that you paſt your Trials by?* I anſwered, it was odious to be an informer, *I* was not free to give an Account of that. He asked, *if Mr.* Baxter *was one of them?* I ſaid nothing. Well, ſaid he, *Mr.* Baxter *hath loſt his Credit with all honeſt Men, and now his Liberty alſo, for that Commentary* (he ſhould have ſaid Paraphraſe) *of his, he hath written lately upon the New Teſtament, as full of Treaſon as it can hold.* I ſaid nothing. *I* had ſome Reflections upon it afterwards, that indeed *I* ſhould have denied *Baxter* to have been one of them; for he was not, and I would have thought it ſcandalous, if he had. In fine, *I* was preſſed to ſubſcribe my Confeſſion again before them, expreſſing in ſhort Words, written by the Clerk, What I owned, *&c.* which becauſe I had done it before, and to teſtifie that *I* was reſolved not to reſile from it, I ſubſcribed again. When they threatened me with Death, and that I might expect but a very little Time, and laid before me how eaſily I might ſave my Life, by doing but what I had done already. I anſwered, *I* neither durſt do it, nor could *I* ſo proclaim my Treachery, Cowardice and Diſſimulation before GOD & Man. The *Chancellor* then gave Advice, *That I would do well to take Heed, that it might not be ſtanding upon Points of Honour, or thinking Shame to retract, which might hinder me from ſatisfying them.* I told them, That GOD was my Record it was not ſo, neither could it be thought ſo, that it was either my intereſt or Honour made me entertain ſuch Principles. For what of either of theſe could be rationally expected from ſuch things, that were looked upon, as ſo odious and obnoxious, and ſo dangerous by the Generation? It was purely Conſcience *I* had reſpect to, and *I* durſt not abandon it, nor could *I* ſee with any other Eyes than my own. This is the Subſtance of the moſt material Paſſages I can remember at that Examination. In End, *I* was ſent back to Priſon, and put in the Gentleman's Chamber, and that ſame Afternoon, about five at Night, was called out again to the Prelates.

This indigeſted and unpremeditate Conference, ſuch as it is, however chargeable with all the common Cenſures of Folly and Faintneſs, that all my pitiful Confeſſions in all my Trials are guilty of, and lyable unto; yet, is one of the ill beſt I had with that Party of CHRIST's Enemies; wherein I had moſt Peace, and was kept freeſt of Conſcience-wounding and Cauſe-wronging Snares; and wherein *I* was moſt experiencedly helped of the LORD to aim at ſome poor Plainneſs, without my ordinary Trick of Quibling; unto which I think the Senſe I had of the Raſcal's Rudeneſs, that brought me in, and the Expectation I thence conceived of ſome ſignal Severity there in that Court, to be more ſolemnly determined

againſt me, had ſome influence, to make me reſolve upon the woſt of it, and ſpeak more freely; tho' ſtill I kept Reſerves, and declined a full Declaration of my Mind, till a fitter, and in my Fancy, a more apparently neceſſary Opportunity, when my Buſineſs ſhould be unqueſtionably deſperate, and nothing to be expected, but my Murder. However alas! *I* am confounded with Shame and Grief, when I look over this, not only becauſe it was not better; but becauſe I did not abide by it; but in my after Trials did degenerate to a great deal worſe: Yet, even in this, I have ſome ſpecial Remarks of Miſcariage. As, 1. That in giving Account of the Grounds of my Diſſatisfaction with the Oath, *I* ſhould have given ſo faint a Diſcovery of my Abhorrence of it, and not rather declared my Souls Deteſtation of ſuch an abominable Contrivance to cheat Mens Conſciences. Inſtead of this I fooliſhly *inſinuated a Deſire, that they might have been ſatisfied with that Deed of my ſubſcribing it.* I ſhould rather have deſired, and endeavoured by all Means, that it might not ſtand in Law. As alſo, *I tacitly implied there was ſome Shadow of ſeeming Reaſon in my Satisfaction with it at firſt, thinking it obliged me only, to diſown theſe Principles fixed thereupon in the Proclamation, which, I ſaid, I was ready to declare my Abhorence of.* Alas! what Reaſon was there for this? Could any having the Uſe, and Exereiſe of Reaſon or Conſcience, be ſatisfied with it upon ſuch a Shadow? If I had adverted to the genuine import of theſe Principles, there faſtened on that Declaration, and inveighed againſt ſo viperouſly in the Proclamation, which I have before vindicated, durſt I have been ſatisfied with it, or declared ſo much when I recanted it? To name no more than that which is inſert in the Oath it ſelf, IN SO FAR AS, War is declared againſt the King, I am ſure I could not be ſatisfied in Conſcience, with diſowning of that, nor can I now be ſatisfied with declaring my Readineſs to abhore it. This I think was a great Eſcape. 2. That I did not decline the Prelates deſired Conference; but ſo ſimply did yield to the firſt Propoſal of it. I think, I ſhould rather have declared, I would have nothing to do with them, except I were forced. That Complement, *That I was at Command, to confer with any whom they pleaſed*, was very unſuitable. Alas! ſhould I have ſuch Regard to their Pleaſure, and ſo little to the Truth, which they were ſet to impugn and oppoſe, which might ſuffer Wrong by my Weakneſs and inſufficiency to plead for it? which I could not but be very conſcious of; otherwiſe I was very forgetful of my ſelf, or hatefully arrogant. 3. That I ſo fooliſhly and inconſideratly relapſed again into my former Error of ſubſcribing my Confeſſion over again, as the Clerk wrote it, meerly to give them Security, that *I* would not reſile from it. This *I* think was worſe than the firſt, and more inexcuſable; becauſe done after *I* rued

the former. What ſhall I ſay? Alas! if this be my beſt and faithfulleſt Conference, I may have little Confidence in owning and ſubſcribing my ſelf one of CHRIST's Confeſſors. However this was the Noiſe of that Day, and the more obſervable, that the Fellows that introduced me made ſuch a Buſle about me in the outter Houſe, which as I hinted before, had ſome influence to raiſe my Spirit to ſome more Reſolution: For, after the Macer brought me out of the Tolbooth into the Parliament-Houſe, there was ſome of the Guard there, that would have me in Cuſtody, and the other would not part with me, alledging, it was an infringing of the Priviledge of that Court. The other contended it was their Priviledge. I did not underſtand the Debate, however, both the one and the other dragged me from one Side of the Houſe to the other, and pulled me, and held me by the Arms very uncivilly, and in like Manner, when I had done, and was coming away, they began again their Contendings. But I was over-ruled to the Macer's Part, who carried me again to the Gentleman's Chamber, as I ſaid. This was a Day of much Toil to me, for this foreſaid Conflict I ſuſtained in the Fore-noon: And in the After-noon they would not let me reſt; but haled me out to the Biſhops; after a little intermiſſion, with whom I was kept three Hours debating. A Party of the Town's Guards conducted me thither.

My Conference with the Prelates, eodem Die.

THE ſame Day I was examined before the Lords of the Articles, ſome of the Prelates being preſent, as part of the *Lords Spiritual* Conſtituent of one of the Eſtates of Parliament, acting there for their Intereſt, and the Pomp of their Monarchy, deſired and moved the *Chancellor*, to offer a Conference with me; Which I, tho' very much averſe from it, fearing leſt my Weakneſs and imparity of Parts, ſhould wrong the Truth; yet, leſt my declining it might either argue Diffidence in the Equity of my Cauſe, or prejudicate Obſtinacy in an Opinion, which only Shame hindered to retract (a thing I was openly accuſed of) and leſt my Denial might be conſtructed a wilful irritating of the Court againſt me, condeſcended to. And accordingly the ſame Afternoon, I was called before them, beſides and beyond my Expectation. For I could ſcarce believe they were in Earneſt, or at leaſt, they would be ſo haſty with me: But what the Reaſon, or Deſign of their Precipitancy was, I can conjecture none other, than that they would take Advantage of my Hurry to confound me, or by involving me in the Heat of Debate, they would pump ſomewhat from me, either to my Detriment, or Diſadvantage of the Cauſe I maintained. However they kept me long time, from a little paſt 5 till it was paſt 8 of the Clock at Night: Of the which Diſcourſe, for the Satisfaction of Friends, I would here give ſome rude Account, as

to the moſt material Paſſages of it, profeſſing, my Purpoſe is, not to give any accurate or full Narration of the Particulars of the Diſpute, or in the Method it was managed (which by Reaſon of the Length of Time before I had Conveniency to write any thing of it, and many other incumberances interveening, I cannot recollect, or bear in my Memory) only the Scope of it, take as follows.

When I came into the Chamber, where they were in the Counſel-Houſe, I found three of them ſitting, being (as I was informed ſince) the Two Arch-Prelates of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, and the Prelate of *Dunkell*. After a whiles ſilence, one of them had a Harangue, ſeeking leave firſt of the reſt, to this Purpoſe, that ſuch was the Reſpect and Regard they had to my Life and Youth, *&c.* and unfeigned deſire of my better Information, and being brought off theſe dangerous Notions, ſo Dangerous both for Life and Conſcience, that tho' they were called to wait upon weightier Matters, yet they were content to poſtpone all, to the deſire they had of my Advantage at this Time: And therefore as they underſtood, *I* ſtuck upon ſome Points of Conſcience, very Tickliſh and Diſputable, which yet may be *I* had not duely conſidered; ſo they hoped I would not throw away my Life upon theſe things, out of an Humour of Obſtinacy, and refuſe what Reaſon they would offer for my Conviction; for, for that End, this Conference was appointed. The Harangue was Prolix to this Purpoſe, and I was never very prompt or skilful in making Extemporary Anſwers; yet the LORD helped me to ſay ſomething to the Effect following. I firſt Prefaced, that I muſt needs decline giving them their uſual Titles, and that I hoped they did not expect them from me, nor would not be offended at my forbearance, for I durſt not make uſe of any ſuch Compellations, as might ſignifie my Reſpect to, or Approbation of their Office. They Anſwered, they could bear with that from me, tho' they believed they were in caſe to Juſtifie and Maintain their Titles before the World, or againſt it, ſomewhat to this purpoſe. Then I proceeded to tell them, that was not my Buſineſs at preſent to diſpute Points of State with them; I was a *Presbyterian*, and did own all *Presbyterian Principles*, and ſhould be content to offer what light I had for them, or to hear what they had to ſay againſt any of them; but I believed their purpoſe was, which was alſo my deſire, to reſtrict their Diſcourſe to theſe that rendered me ſo Obnoxious, and on which my Sufferings were ſtated, and for theſe I offered them freely, that, if they could produce better Arguments againſt them from Scripture or Reaſon of any convincing Force, than I had for them, I ſhould be content to lay them down, but deſired they ſhould not cajole me into a blind implicitneſs, by Authority or Arguments taken therefrom; and Promiſed, that

then

then they ſhould not find me either Obſtinate or Diſingenuous, or ſtanding upon any Humour or Honour, for I had none to look to but Honeſty. They Profeſſed with Proteſtations, a great tenderneſs to Conſcience in things wherein the Conſcience was concerned, but that thoſe things that I endangered my ſelf for, were ſmall and diſputable, no ways Fundamental. I thanked them for any regard they had to my Life, which I alſo did value much, for I told them I had not lived ſo long, and tho' I had been much afflicted, I had not been ſo devoid of the Comforts of Life, as to be weary of it, or throw it away for nothing. And tho' theſe Truths *I* maintained were Comparatively not ſo Material as ſome others, yet to me the leaſt hoof or concern of Truth, was more Valuable than Life, or all intereſts of the World, and that I did not think them ſmall, but great matter to me. If they were doubtful or diſputable to me, I durſt not throw away my Life ſo confidently for them; but now, the denying or doubting of them were a Manifeſt doing Violence to Conſcience. I will rather ſuffer all Violence before I do that; but yet I will lay my ſelf open to your Information. They told me, I might have Reaſon to ſuſpect my own Opinion, being but a Young Man, and to be ſuppoſed not ſo well acquaint with thoſe Controverſies, nor of ſo Mature a Judgement to aſſert things in Contradiction to ſo many Eminent and Learned Men in all Ages. I confeſſed the Suppoſition was Rational upon theſe Grounds, but I had endeavoured to inform my ſelf as well as I could. I could do no leſs then Embrace Light when it was offered. I had not troubled the World much with my Aſſertions, having long declined to give my Judgement in thoſe things, until it was Extorted from me: But now if they would inform me better out of theſe Learned Men, I was willing to hear it, and receive it. So they Addreſſed themſelves to it, and took their Turns about to propound their Arguments. But firſt they Interrogated me many things, as Preliminaries, tho' altogether Extraneous to the following debate, as firſt, *how Old I was?* I Anſwered, I thought I was about 25 or 26 Years of Age. Then, *where I was Born? And if my Father was a Presbyterian? And if he had any Fortune in the World? If he was an Heritor?* All which I anſwered obviouſly. Then, *if I was Graduate? And where? and how long ago? And what was my Station and Study before I left* Scotland? I anſwered, my Station was to Teach Children, my Study was to be a Chriſtian. Being asked in what Pariſh I Lived, I anſwered, in ſeveral Pariſhes, which I could not give a ready account of, being no great Obſerver of Pariſhes as now Conſtitute, nor Haunter of their Kirks. Then, *what Places of the World I had been in, in my Travels?* I told them. Then, *how long I had been in* England? *I* anſwered. Then, *in what Vocation I went Abroad and Traveled by Sea? I* anſwered, in that of a Chaplain of a Ship. And again, *how*

I Officiated? Whether I Read Common Prayers or not? I answered no; *I* would never do that. Next, *How the Ship's Company was pleased with me?* I told them *I* could not tell, but they never expressed their Displeasure. Then, *what Ministers I was acquainted with at* London? I told them *I* could not give them an account, but I was acquainted with severals both *Scotch* and *English*, both Presbyterian and Independent. They asked, *if I was acquainted with no Regulars Officiating in Churches?* I said, no. They asked if I never went to hear none? I answered no, never. They said that was my great Disadvantage, for they were Learned Men. I said there were many Learned Men there. They asked, *how the Presbyterians and Independents did agree?* I answered, they had differences in Judgement, but these did not alienate their Affection and Sympathy; but they lived together as Brethren. Then they interrogate me about several Men, which is not worth the Rehearsing. Neither was I willing to Answer, smelling out at last, what was the Tendency of that Multiplicity of Questions, only to try my Humour and Freedom. At length they came to the Matter, and said, *They would reduce all these Opinions I was Tryed for, to one Head, which they thought the Fountain and Spring of all; that was, That Principle of the Lawfulness of Private Subjects, using Defensive Arms against their Sovereign. They asked if I had Read Books on that Controversie.* I told them, I had Read some. *We doubt not, said they, but you have Read those of your own Party, as* Lex Rex, *and* Nephtali, Jus Populi, &c. *But did you ever Read and Consult their Antagonists, that are against that Thesis?* I answered, I had never the Opportunity of Reading much, but yet I had seen some who had written against it, and of late one Mr. *Sherlock* against Resistance of the Sovereigns Power. The Reading of which did confirm me in my Judgement of the Lawfulness of that which he went to Confute, as much as ever any thing did, his Arguments are so weak, and his Expressions so unsavory. They asked me, *if ever I had read the Fathers, Greek or Latine.* I answered, I never had the Advantage of Reading much of them, tho' I could not deny but I had read some both Historians and others. *No*, said they, *we believe you do not value the Fathers much.* Yes said I, I would value the Opportunity of reading them, if I had it. *Its too late now, said they, to expect Time to fall about that Study.* And so went about to State the Question, which they formed to this purpose. *Whether or not it was Lawful for Subjects, or a Party of them, when they thought themselves injured, or to be in a capacity, to resist or Oppose the Supreme Power of a Nation?* I quarrelled at this stating of it, and Objected several things; as in the first place, That the Question is not, if when a Party think themselves injured, they may Resist; but when they are really injured, and not for every Reality of injury neither, but when their Nearest and Dearest Liberties and Rights

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Civil and Religious were invaded, especially such an Invasion as threatens ineluctable Subversion of them, and not then in every case neither, if other Means to prevent it be Accessible; but chiefly when all Addresses, Petitions, Remonstrances, are prohibited. Next, I thought not a Parties esteeming themselves in a capacity, or their being really in a capacity did make Resistance Lawful, except *cæteris paribus*, they had a Call as well as a Capacity; they behoved to have both Necessity and a Right to the Action, and the things they were contending for were their real and Legal Rights, their Capacity gave them only a Conveniency and Encouragement to go about the thing that was previously Lawful on a Moral Ground; And lastly, I alledged that it was not the Supreme Power that was formally intended to be Opposed *per se*, but only *per accidens*, the Person or Party invested with it happening to be on the side invading, and the Defenders were not to make Distinctions and Exceptions, but to defend their own. These things were several Times tossed, but I chuse rather to set them down as they now Occur, than in the Method they were then proposed. Against the first it was urged, That *the Question must needs be, when the People think themselves injured, for they have no other Rule to Regulate them, they will not, neither can they admit of an other Reference.?* I answered, Their Thought is the Understanding they have of the Rule, but it is not their Rule, they could walk by no other understanding than their own, and it might be supposed they have the best of their own Grievances, and so it would only follow that when their thinking themselves injured was wrong, and only pretended, then the Resistance was unjust; but when their Thoughts were true, then it were just. It was urged, *But who shall be Judge, whether they be really injured or not in their Rights and Liberties? should they be Judges of their own Cause, then every Person or Party might claim the same Priviledge; this would confound all Judgment in the World.* I answered, That I thought that the Laws of the Kingdom should judge it, and the World and all impartial Spectators might Judge that: For when it comes to a Necessity of Resistance, it is to be supposed that the Grievances complained of, and sought to be redressed by Arms, are not hid but manifest. It is not so with any private Person, pretending particular injuries. It cannot be so with any Party only pretending their suffering wrong. It was urged again, *That the King and his Party with him might have as much and more Reason to Judge of the People's Indignity done to his Sovereignity, and that really they deserved to be so dealt with as they Complained, and in that case, who shall be Judge between the King and the People.* I answered, let GOD be Judge, who could only give the Eventual Decision; but if no other Agreement could be made otherwise, I could

see

ſee no other way of Determining the caſe, but by ſtanding Laws, and the cleareſt Evidence of their Reſpective Manifeſto's to the World of the State of their Cauſe. It was replyed, *That is only the Rule of Judging, but who ſhall give a Judgment.* I anſwered, if the King and the People be ſuppoſed to be two Parties, I could not ſee how he could be both Judge and Party, for then he might claim that Prerogative in every caſe. They ſaid, *The King can never be a Party, but always a Judge.* I alledged, that he could not be in the ſuppoſed caſe, for that would Eſtabliſh Tyranny in the World. *But ſhall the People be Judges,* ſaid they, *over their King?* then they deſcanted on People's Dethroning their Kings, and reducing them, at ſome length, which is neither fit nor poſſible for one to rehearſe. I remember I told them, that this was no act of Judgment for a People to Defend their own. Defence is no Act of Juriſdiction, but a Priviledge of Nature. Much more was ſpoken of fixing of a Judge to thoſe caſes of Oppoſition between a King and his People. I remember when I ſaid, that for a People's Religious Rights there could be no Judge, but the *Norma*, which is the Scriptures; They replyed to this purpoſe, *that then there would never be an end of the Controverſie*; I ſaid, if that would not hold, then we muſt flee to the Old Plea of a Pope, or a General Council. They ſaid, *the King muſt have the Judgment of vvhat Religion he vvill have profeſſed in his Kingdoms, and Subjects have no remedy but ſubmiſſive Suffering.* I ſaid to this Effect, that Subjects muſt have the Diſcretive Judgment, what Religion they will Embrace, and when it is Eſtabliſhed as a Land-Right, they might contend for it ſometimes otherwiſe than by Suffering. When the State of the Queſtion was allowed to be Reformed, I made it to this Effect. *Whether it be Lawful for a Community of the Subjects of a Land, when really injured and deprived, or unavoidably threatened to be deprived of their Neareſt and Deareſt Liberties, Lives, Fortunes, &c. And all Redreſs otherwiſe by Remonſtrances, &c. is rendered inacceſſible, to defend themſelves and their Religion, &c. by Arms againſt their Princes Emiſſaries?* I affirmed it was. They gave the Contradiction to it, in this Poſition, or to this purpoſe, *That it vvas novvays Lavvful in any caſe, or upon any pretence whatſoever to reſiſt the Soveraign Power of a Nation, in vvhomſoever it vvas reſident, vvhether a ſingle Perſon or State, and vvhich vvay ſoever it vvere Erected, vvhether by Hereditary Succeſſion or Election or Conqueſt.* I was required firſt to prove the contrary, which I would have Addreſſed my ſelf to do, and offered the Heads that I would inſiſt on the Probation, *viz.* from the Law of *Nature, Practice of Nations, and Scripture.* Others Oppoſed that, inſinuating as much as a Promiſe (or rather threatening) of another Hearing of that Matter, and willed rather their Lordſhips to Propone the Arguments for my Conviction and Confutati-

on, I shall only hint at some Heads of them as they Occur. One was taken from the *Practice of our Saviour, the best Example, who both in the Tract of his Life lived peaceably under the then Government, and at his Death he could have resisted, but would not.* I answered, Suffering was the End of His Voluntary suscepted Humiliation, and his Errand to the World appointed by the Father, and undertaken by Himself. That is not the Rule of our Practice. It was Replyed, *Even in his Suffering he left us an Ensample, that we should follow His Steps.* I answered; its true in many things, as he was a *Martyr*, His Sufferings were the purest Rule and Example for us to follow, both for the Matter and Frame of Spirit, Submission, Patience, Constancy, Meekness, *&c.* But not as he was our *Sponsor*, and after the same manner. For then it were unlawful for us to flee, as well as to resist. They instanced that Scripture, *Rom.* 13. as an Express Proof, repeating the 1, 2, and 5, Verses. *I* replyed I would pick my Answer out of the Verses they had skipped. That *I* thought indeed it was damnable to resist the Excellent *Ordinance of GOD*, or any Powers acting as becomes Persons Cloathed therewith, keeping their Line of Subordination to GOD, and Subserviency to the Ends of their Erection, as *being not a Terrour to good Works, as the Ministers of GOD, &c.* But otherways to resist the Abuse of the Power, was not a resisting of the Power. It was urged, *That all Powers there are ordained of GOD, and therefore, be what they will, not to be resisted.* I answered, all Powers are not such as are there described, for there are Qualifications of the Persons and Powers not to be resisted It was Replyed, *These are not Qualifications of the Powers, but Motives for our Subjection and Obedience.* *I* answered, they are so, but they could not be Motives, except they were found true in the Persons. But, said they, *There all Power is ordained of GOD, be what it will.* I answered, all Power is ordained of GOD by His *Providential Will*, but not every Power assumed of Men, is so by His *Approbative and Preceptive Will.* One of the Prelates said, *That even His Providential Will is not to be resisted.* *I* answered, that the Holy Product of it cannot and may not, but the Instrument he made use of sometimes might be resisted. I granted, that even Tyrants, when GOD lays on this Yoke as our Punishment, must be Subjected to, as a Plague, but not always to be submitted to, when he gives a capacity to shake off the Yoke. Otherways the Devil must not be resisted, for he is the Prince of this World by Permissive Providence. It was urged, *That* Nero *was then Regnant, when this Command of Non-resistance was given.* *I* Answered, that the Command was given in General for our Instruction, how to carry in our Duties under Lawful Magistrates, abstracting from *Nero*. And I thought it was hard to prove that *Nero* was then a Tyrant, I have read of the *Quinquennium Neronis*, wherein he Reigned very

very well. And however I alledged, that an ill Man might ſometimes be a good Magiſtrate. They ſaid, *That was a great Confeſſion from* me. Then I was asked, *if I owned that Article of our Confeſſion of Faith, That difference in Religion or Infidelity, could not make void the Magiſtrate's juſt Power or Greatneſs?* I ſaid I did with all my Heart. They asked, *how I could reconcile that with that Principle of Reſiſtance?* I ſaid, very eaſily, For (1ſt.) tho' difference in Religion did not make void his Power, yet it might ſtop from admitting to that Power, where that Religion he differed from, was Eſtabliſhed by Law. But waving that at this time, tho' it did not make void his Power, yet his Subjects differing from him, might defend theirs. Again, a King might differ in Religion from his Subjects ſeveral ways; ſome might be Educate, and always continue in a different Religion. Others might fall from that, which ſometimes they Profeſſed. Some might not only Profeſs the ſame Religion with their Subjects, but engage by Covenant to maintain it, and on theſe Terms be admitted to the Government, and yet fall from it. Some again may not only Apoſtatiſe, but Perſecute the Faithful Profeſſors of it, and go to deſtroy them and their Religion. I think in that caſe he may be reſiſted, and they may Defend their own, not meddling with his Religion. Another Scripture Argument was brought from 1 *Peter* 2. 13. *&c.* I anſwered, I was endeavouring to Anſwer that Command now in this my Suffering Lot, I muſt and do ſubmit. They replyed, *That is but Forced and not Conſcientious.* I ſaid, they would not require active Obedience to every Pleaſure of every Ordinance of Man. They ſaid, *Paſſive, at leaſt, is required.* Well ſaid I, all that is forced, Suffering is always forced. But I alledged, that Submiſſion there required, was very conſiſtent with Defenſive Arms in ſome caſes. They might ſubmit to the Government, and yet defend themſelves againſt unjuſt Violence. We had ſome wrangling about this. Then they argued, *from the Example of the Primitive Chriſtians, who, they could demonſtrate, were many Times in a Capacity to reſiſt, and yet did it not.* I told them, that was a diſpenſation of Suffering; I could not well tell what capacity they were in ſometimes, or whether they did not ſometimes reſiſt, but I thought the caſe was not alike, and if we were ſtated in the ſame Circumſtances, living under the *Turks* Government, having no Vote in the Law, nor no Priviledges of *Legal-Land-Right* to our Religion, I could not tell, but we might do as they did, if the LORD Spirited us as he did them. Then I offered to prove, it hath been the Laudable, at leaſt not condemned Practice of many Chriſtian Nations. I inſtanced the carrying on of our Work of Reformation at Home, and the *Bohemians*, and *French*, and *Hollanders Reſiſtance.* They ſaid, *theſe were not ſo much reſpected and propoſed for Imitation, as the Primitive Chriſtians;*

and beſides, ſaid they, theſe acted by Authority in the Subordinate Magiſtrate as Parliaments, &c. I anſwered, I owned indeed, ſome of our Writers, for Defence, did maintain only that carried on by the *Ephori* or *Primores Regni*, but I could not ſtick there; for I thought, that was no Authority; but that of Subjects reſiſting their Prince, and Defence was no Act of Authority, but a Priviledge of Nature, common to all. They urged much the Old ſaying, *Preces & Lachrymæ, &c. Prayers and Tears are the Churches Arms.* I granted they were ſo, the only beſt prevailing Arms; and without which, all others would be ineffectual, and that they were the only *Eccleſiaſtick or Spiritual Arms of a Church, as a Church;* but the Members thereof were Men, and as Men, they might uſe the ſame Weapons that others did. When I offered to plead from the Law of Nature, as that which could not Contradict the revealed Law of CHRIST, and which was not the Grant or Donative of Princes, nor to be diſpenſed with or abandoned to their Pleaſure: They had ſome quibbling Sophiſms, *That if this were the Law of Nature, then in no caſe it ought to be laid aſide, then a Man ſhould reſiſt always, and he can no more part with his Reſiſtance than with his Life; and therefore, ſaid they, if you were going to be Hang'd, you ought to Fight and Reſiſt for your Life.* I anſwered, that were not a mean to preſerve my Life. And beſides, it is an affirmative Duty not obliging *ad ſemper, at all times.* At which one of them wondered how that could be. I confeſs I wondered at that Biſhop's Ignorance. The ſame Man asked, *if I thought it were lawful for a Man Voluntarily to bind himſelf to Slavery, whether that was conſiſtent with the Law of Nature?* I anſwered, I thought no, where he can have his Liberty. Then ſaid he, *How do you Read of the* Hebrew *Servant his Voluntarily giving his Ear to be bored to his Maſter's Door.* I anſwered, That was his Contentment to be a Servant for ever, not his Slave, for he could not be Sold as ſuch. Many other things paſt that have eſcaped my Memory. But I remember, they ſpoke of hearing my Arguments another time. Then fell again Exhorting, *That I would ſeriouſly ponder, whether theſe things be of ſuch weight, as to loſe my Life for them.* I anſwered, I reckoned I was a Priſoner for Conſcience, and I was alſo a Priſoner to Conſcience, bound by the Bonds of its Authority, to own what I underſtood to be Truth, and if they could looſe me from theſe Bonds, I was content to retract and be better informed. Then they began to make Propoſals to me, *that I might ſave my Life, if I would but engage to Live Peaceably under the Government of Church and State.* I told them I was not charged with any unpeaceable Practice; yea, but ſaid they, *your Principles are inconſiſtent with the Peace of the Government.* I told them I did not think ſo, but that they were very Conſonant with the Goſpel of Peace; but for engaging to Live Peaceably, I could do

it very well in the General, for I am a lover of Peace, but I thought it would argue I had been Guilty of the Breach of it formerly, and ſuſpected, they and I would not agree in the explaining of that Peace, for I believed, whatever it were, it ſhould be ſuch a living peaceably as would contradict my way of Living, and that for which I am a Priſoner. They ſaid, *by living peaceably they meant that I would not riſe againſt the King, and ſubmit to the Government of Church and State.* I anſwered, As for the Government of the State in many things I profeſs my ſelf a Malecontent. Then they made three Offers whereby I might have my Life, *viz. If I would go and hear the Regular Incumbent in any Pariſh I pleaſed to reſide in.* Or next, if I would not do that, *if I would engage to forbear Preaching, or at leaſt in the laſt place, I would engage and give it under my Hand never to Preach that Doctrine I had maintained even now before them.* I refuſed them all, and to the laſt I told them I was a Priſoner for Truth, and tho' I ſhould Die for it, I had rather remain ſo and ſuffer the worſt of it, before I kept any Truth a Priſoner. Then they threatened Death, and that within a very ſhort Time. Nay, one of them proceeded to threaten Damnation for owning ſuch Principles, and ſo went away. One Paſſage *I* had forgot, that for a conſiderable Time before *I* was Diſmiſſed, Sir *William Paterſon, and the Clerk of the Juſticiary* came in and heard our Debates, and before the cloſe Sir *William* challenged me for a Paſſage in my Letter where *I* reported, he *confeſſed, that in ſome caſe the King might be reſiſted.* *I* then affirmed before him it was true, and Atteſted the other Clerk, who anſwered, he did not remember any ſuch thing; Then *I* repeated before them the caſe that he confeſſed. *If the King were Diſtracted or came furiouſly to kill me without a Cauſe, I might defend my ſelf: O! but,* ſaid one of the Prelates, *you indulge your ſelf in your fanciful Suppoſitions of things that rarely fall out, and are ſo improbable, that they are next to impoſſibilities.* *I* anſwered, it was not impoſſible but a King might be Diſtracted as well as another Man, and that ſuch as had their Wits might do, and cauſe be done Diſtracted Acts. And for inſtance, *I* told them one Story which *I* had proper Knowledge of, *viz.* Of the Young King of *Bantam*, who when he got the Government in his Hands, by his Father's Reſignation, he killed with his own Hands many of his Subjects and cauſed them to be Murdered without any Cauſe, which was the Reaſon of his Subjects preſent Revolt, which yet the late King of *England* juſtified by his ſending for their Relief, Ammunition, *&c.* *I* ſhall here abruptly cloſe this confuſed Relation of that very Conference *I* was ſo weary in the Time of it, that *I* could not ſtand, and ſo weary in writing it, that *I* cannot ſit longer. *I* was from thence carried back to Priſon, to he Gentleman's-Chamber. But before I was taken thither, the

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Prelates departing in a Huff, left me alone in the Room a pretty ſpace, and forgot to give Orders concerning me to the Soldiers, who were waiting in the Outter-Room. After I had ſtayed ſo long alone, that I wondered what was intended to be done with me, I came forth of the Room, and the Soldiers in all Civility and (as I thought) ſeriouſly asked me if I was free; for they had no Orders about me. I anſwered, I knew nothing of it, and ſo I continued talking with the Soldiers, until a Macer came running in great haſte and no little fray, with an Order to take me to Priſon, which was done as above ſaid.

Here alſo, I may have ſad and ſorrowful Reflections, in tracing back many Footſteps of Folly and Feebleneſs in the foregoing Conference, (which was my very great Overſight, that ever I conſented to it) wherein I cannot but remark many Short-comings of that Zeal, and indignation I ſhould have had againſt ſuch infamous Antagoniſts, the adjured, perjured, and conjured Enemies of Jesus Christ, and his Work of Reformation in this Church and Kingdom; and of that Reſpect I ſhould have had for the Weight and importance of that Truth, for which I offered to plead and ſuffer, an Honour that I was never either worthy, or capable of. As, 1*ſt*. I am very diſpleaſed with my ſelf, that I ſhould have trifled away an excellent Opportunity, offered in the very Entry, of a Teſtimony againſt this Antichriſtian Prelacy, which hath been the Matter of the Church of *Scotland*'s Witneſſings and Wreſtlings theſe many Years, and againſt that abominable Adjunct of their Hierarchical Uſurpation upon, and Tyrannical Domination over the Church of Christ. Their arrogating to themſelves the Title of *Lordſhip*; by which if there were no more, they plainly declare themſelves not to be the Servants, or Miniſters of Jesus Christ, in the Work of his Goſpel; becauſe they make themſelves, & would be accounted, and challenge the Deference of being *Lords over GOD's Heritage*, which yet *I* pitifully paſſed over in a ſilly Complement, *That I hoped they did not expect that Title from me, and would not be offended at my Forbearance*. Wherein I was more tender of offending them, whom I ſhould have diſdained (with indignation) to gratify, than of offending my own Conſcience afterwards, and the Generation of the Righteous, enquiring after my Demeanour herein. And declaredly did decline that required Teſtimony, in ſaying, *It was not my Buſineſs at preſent, to diſpute that Matter with them, which ignorantly I called, Points of State*; whereas now, upon ſecond Thoughts, I know no other Buſineſs ſo proper I had with them, as to have teſtified againſt the Abſurdity of that preſumptuous Arrogation, and their Perjury, and Perfidy and Wickedneſs, as Enemies of Christ, in overturning ſuch a glorious Work of Reformation, and ſetting up themſelves as Heads and Ringleaders of a *Se-*

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parate Schiſmatick Party in the Land, which now monopolize to themſelves the Name of a Church. And to have brought the Debate to this Head only, which would have been more proper, pertinent and profitable, honeſt and honourable; without any Diſparagement to that great Truth debated, which was very weighty. 2*ly*. I cannot reflect upon that pedantick Kind of Preamble, to ſuch a grave and weighty Matter, there and then to be handled, without Shame for the Scandal that's in it, and Sorrow for the Sin of it. I think it ſcandalous, that I, or the like of me, having to do with ſuch cunning ſuttle Sophiſts, ſhould have ſhown ſuch preſumptuous Self-Confidence, and that hypocritically cloathed with a Mask of ſeeming Humility in that Offer *I* made, more like a bragging *Bravo*, entering the Liſts of School-Diſputes, than a humble earneſt Contender for Truth: When I ſaid, *That if they could produce better Arguments againſt theſe Truths, from Scripture or Reaſon, of any convincing Force, than I had for them, I ſhould be content to lay them down.* Here was Preſumption, not upon the impregnable Foundation of the Truths themſelves: But upon the Pregnancy of my own Arguments for them, and the Value *I* put upon my own Wit, compared with theirs; whereby I both expoſed my ſelf to the Snares of their Sophiſtry, and boldly and blindly ventured the Streſs of my Faith, upon the Strength of my Diſpute with them; and upon that vain Venture offered a Submiſſion and Recantation, if they ſhould confound me; and declared I would lay my ſelf open to their information, and *if they would inform me better out of theſe learned Men, I was willing to hear it, and receive it.* Alas! I did not think of the Danger of this: Nor was I ſuitably ſenſible of my own Weakneſs, or of the Greatneſs of the Truth I there laid at Stake. But herein I did as fooliſhly as a Child would do, that ſhould throw down a precious Jewel, when threatened to be robbed of it, and give a Challenge to the Robbers to win it and wear it. It were greater Wiſdom for the Child to keep it in his Grips, and fight for it as he can, than thus to expoſe it; ſo it ſhould have been my Reſolution, and I ſhould have declared it, that whether they won me by Diſpute or no; yet, I would not part with it; knowing it was a Truth, tho' I could not maintain it anſwerably. It was a Wonder of Mercy, that the LORD did not leave me to be confounded before them. 3*ly*. *I* am diſſatisfied with my ſilly Simplicity *I* diſcovered before they came to the Queſtion, in anſwering all their multiplied *I*nterrogatures, very impertinent for them to ask, ſave as they were ſubſervient to their intrapping Deſign, and ſhewed a great deal of *I*gnorance in me to anſwer; which *I* diſcovered at length, when *I* ſmelled out the Tendency of them, which was at beſt to try my Humour and Freedom; *I* think rather *I* ſhould have declined theſe impertinencies

tinencies, out of Diſdain to have more talk with them than needs. *I* had declined a far more neceſſary Matter before in the Entry of the Diſcourſe; when *I* had Occaſion to diſpute their Titles and Functions; and to have queſtioned them about their Practices and Manner of Life, and Treachery and Truculency, hateful to GOD and Man: But *I* always inclined to the eaſieſt Part of it. *4ly.* Many other Eſcapes may be remarked in my Management of this great and weighty Queſtion, manifeſting great Faintneſs and Feebleneſs in the Manner, and great Diſproportion between the Weight of the Matter, and the Frame and Capacity of the Manager of this Diſpute; which for Brevity, *I* would rather ſigh over my Reflections on them in my own Mind, than inlarge a Declaration of them in Paper. Only in the general, *I* think it offenſive, and an Argument of my Folly and Faintneſs, whereby *I* put my ſelf to a Loſs, and gave them Advantage, that being to debate upon this Subject of *Defenſive Arms, and active Reſiſtance*, againſt unjuſt Violence, by whomſoever offered; and knowing this to have been the Practice and Matter of ſuffering of the LORD's People, in this Generation (in this Debate by the Prelates deſigned to be impugned, and which *I* reſolved to defend) which manifeſtly was an Oppoſing of Tyranny: And knowing alſo, That the Oppoſers of this Truth univerſally, and our preſent Perſecuters particularly, do extend their Poſition in the general, to all oppoſing of, or reſiſting even Tyrants, *That upon no Pretence whatſoever, a Prince is to be reſiſted by Arms*: Yet *I* reſtricted the Debate to the reſiſting of lawful Princes, when there was no Acceſs to maintain their Religion and Liberties any other way; whereas it would have been more appoſite to the Practice of the LORD's People in theſe times, and more eaſie and advantageous for my Purpoſe, and more conſonant to their *Antitheſis* of my Aſſertion, to have extended the Debate, SO FAR AS to take in both Reſiſtance againſt the Abuſe of a Lawful Power, and alſo Reſiſtance againſt the Uſe and Uſurpation of Tyrannical Power: Hence I was much over-ſeen in this Reſpect, both in my ſtating of the Queſtion with that forementioned Reſtriction (tho' it be a great Truth as ſo ſtated, but not ſo pat to the Controverſie of theſe Times) and in my correcting their ſtating of it, wherein I alledged, *That it was not the Supreme Power, that was formally intended to be oppoſed* per ſe, *but only* per accidens, *the Perſon, or Party inveſted with it, happening to be on the Side invading*. Now this is indeed a Truth, when reſtricted to a Lawful Sovereign Power abuſing Authority. That is not oppoſed *per ſe*, but only *per accidens*; there is no Oppoſition to the Power, but only to the Abuſe of it, and to the Perſon while concurring in that Abuſe. But it is not true of reſiſting Tyrants; for they are to be oppoſed *per ſe*, as well

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as *per accidens*; and the Power it ſelf is to be reſiſted, and ſought to be reſcinded, and cut off, as well as the Effects of it; as ſhall be found to be the Caſe of our Reſiſtance againſt the preſent Powers, whenſoever it is rightly ſtated. But by this daſtardly Diſtinction I gave my Antagoniſts Occaſion to think, my Judgment was of our Reſiſtance at *Bothwel*, *&c.* that it was only owned in the firſt Caſe; and only ſtated againſt the Abuſe, and ſome Mal-adminiſtrations of a Lawful Monarch; and that I gave and granted, That the Object of all our Defenſive War was a rightful Magiſtrate; which I was far from thinking in my Conſcience. The contrary whereof I ſhall declare afterwards: But now taking the Queſtion complextly, as comprehending both the Caſes, *viz.* both Reſiſtance againſt *Lawful Rulers*, in the Abuſe of their Power, offering unjuſt Violence upon a Peoples Lives, or Liberties; and *uſurping Tyrants*, in the Exerciſe of their Power: Becauſe in the Conference I offered ſome *Heads*, whereon I would found my Arguments; I ſhall now eſſay to make my Offer good in Contradiction to the Prelates *Antitheſis* to the State of my Queſtion, which was, *That it is no ways lawful in any Caſe, or upon any Pretence whatſoever, to reſiſt the Sovereign Power of a Nation, in whomſoever it be reſident, and which Way ſoever it be erected, whether by Succeſſion, or Election, or Conqueſt.* The Heads that I offered to inſiſt on were from the *Law of Nature*, *Practice of Nations* and *Scripture*; which are very great and momentuous Arguments, and of greater and larger Extent, than I can here with any Proportionableneſs proſecute. I ſhall therefore omit the firſt two, containing the Legal and Rational Part of the Controverſie, referring to our famous, deſervedly renowned, worthy and learned, invincible Patrons of, and Champions for that excellent Priviledge of Mankind, the unanſwerable Authors of *Lex Rex*, *Nephali* and *Jus Populi vindicatum*; with whoſe Judgment and Arguments I cordially ſubſcribe my Aſſent and Satisfaction. And becauſe I think it moſt ſuitable to the Way of a ſuffering Confeſſor of Truth, the Honour of which is my only Ambition; I ſhall only, 1. Hint at ſome *Hiſtorical Inſtances of the Practice of the LORD's People, in a ſuffering Lot, worthy of Imitation in this Caſe.* And 2. Remember ſome *Scripture Proofs, for this Truth, the only ſure Foundation and Warrant of a Chriſtian's ſuffering for any thing.* And theſe very briefly. *Firſt*, For Hiſtories, I ſhall not inlarge on inſtances, that might be multiplied from the Records of all Ages, nor ſo much as touch on any, but the Practices of the People of GOD under Perſecution, which are beſt known, and moſt unexceptionable, drauing an Argument there from *ab Exemplis*, which to condemn were impious, and to deny were moſt impudent, which for Form's-ſake may run thus; *What the People of GOD, under both Diſpenſations of the Covenant, both*

both the Old and New Teſtaments, have moſt frequently done in Times of Perſecution, for defending, vindicating or recovering their Religion and Liberties, may be done again in the like Circumſtances, when theſe are in the like Hazard. But, *Under both Diſpenſations, both in the Old and New Teſtaments, the People of GOD frequently, in Times of Perſecution, have defended, vindicate or recovered their Religion and Liberties, by Defenſive Arms, reſiſting the Sovereign Powers, that ſought to deſtroy them.* Ergo, *This may may be done again, when theſe Religious, Civil and Natural Priviledges are in the like Hazard to be deſtroyed, by the violent Encroachments of the Sovereign Powers.*

The *Major Propoſition* cannot be denied, except by them that will profeſs themſelves Enemies to the People of GOD, and Condemners of their moſt frequently reiterated Practice, moſt ſolemnly and ſignally owned of GOD, to the Confuſion of their Enemies, to the Conviction of the World, that the Cauſe for which they contended was of GOD, and to the Encouragement of all the Patrons of the ſame Cauſe, to hope, that when it is at the loweſt, it ſhall have a Reviving and glorious Iſſue. It is true, ſometimes they did not reſiſt, when either they were not in a Capacity, or did not ſee a Call to ſuch an Action; but were extraordinarily ſpirited of the LORD for Paſſive Teſtimonies, under ſuffering Diſpenſations: But it is as true, that many times they did reſiſt, when the LORD capacitated, called and ſpirited them for Active Teſtimonies: And therefore, if their Sufferings under theſe Circumſtances, may be imitated by a People ſo ſtated: Then alſo their Actions, under theſe other Circumſtances, may be imitated by a People in the like Caſe. And by an impartial Scrutiny it will be found, That the Examples of their endeavoured Reſiſtance will be little inferior in Number, or Importance, to the Examples of their ſubmiſſive Sufferings in all Ages; which will appear in the Probation of the *Minor Propoſition* of the Argument, by Adducing of many Inſtances, which I ſhall only curſorily glean out of that plentiful Harveſt, that Hiſtories afford. Beginning under the Old Teſtament Diſpenſation, where the Scripture leaves off.

Firſt then, I need only to glance at that known, and famous Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, of undoubted Verity, tho' not of Canonical Authority, in which, according to Scripture-Predictions, we have a notable Account of *Heroick Enterprizes*, and *Atchievements* and *Exploits* performed by them *that knew their GOD*, and tendered his Glory, and their Religion, and Country's Liberties, above the common Catachreſtick Notions of incontrolable, irreſiſtable Royalty, and abſolute implicite Loyalty, that have abuſed the World in all Ages. We have an Account of the Noble and ſucceſsful Reſiſtance of a Party of a few Godly and Zealous Patriots, without the Concurrence of Civil Authority, or Countenance of the *E-*

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phori or *Primum Regni*, against a King universally acknowledged and subjected unto, *that came in peaceably, and obtained the Kingdom by Flatteries*, with whom the greatest Part, and those of the greatest Note took Part, *and did wickedly against the Covenant*, and Nation's Interest, *and were corrupt by Flatteries*; yet a few Priests, with the Concurrence of some common Country Men, did go to Arms against him and them, and the LORD did wonderfully assist them for a considerable Time, as was foretold by *Daniel*, Chap. 11. This fell out under the Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and was happily begun by *Matthias*, a Godly Priest, and his five Sons, who being commanded under severe Certifications, to worship according to the then Law, and the King's wicked Lust, did valiantly resist that *Abomination*, and went to Defensive Arms, which while living he patronized, and when adying, did encourage his Sons to it, by a notable Oration, showing, what Case his Country was in, and what a Duty and Dignity, it was to redeem and deliver it. This was vigorously prosecute by *Judas Maccabeus*, expressly for the Quarrel of Religion and Liberty, against that mighty Tyrant, and all his Emissaries. I need give no other Historical Instances under that Legal and more rigid Dispensation, for the Scripture is very full of them, as shall appear in the next Head of Arguments.

But now, to come to the History of the Gospel Dispensation, it is true in the time of the Primitive Persecutions under Heathen Emperors, this Priviledge of Self-defence was not much improved or contended for by Christians, who studied more *to Play the Martyrs*, than *to Play the Men*, because under these Circumstances the LORD was pleased to Spirit them for, and call them unto, and accept of their Hands only Passive Testimonies, while they were Incorporate under a civil Relation with the Heathens, in Subjection to Governors, who did not by open Tyranny, overturn their civil Liberties, only did endeavour to eradicate Religion, which at that Time never became their Right by Law. while they were Scattered, and out of Capacity, and never could come to a separate formed Community by Joynt Concurrence and Correspondence, to undertake a declared Resistance, while Religion was only Propagating through the Nations, and the LORD did Providentially Preclude the least appearance that might be of Propagating it by any Armed Force, being the Gospel of Peace, designed to save and not to destroy; yet even then, as *Jus Populi* gives several Examples of Christians defending themselves, and rescuing their Ministers and Martyrs, so more might be adduced, if they were of Consequence to insist on. But when Religion was once imbraced in imbodied Corporations, and Established by Law, and became a Peoples common Interest and Liberty, in a capacity to defend it with their Lives

and Liberties, and when it was Propagated, then the LORD did call for other more active Teſtimonies in the Preſervation and defence of it, of which we have many inſtances in Hiſtories relating Tyrants Perſecutions; as the *Bohemians* many times, both under the Heatheniſh and Popiſh Perſecutions. About the Year 894, the Chriſtians reſiſted *Drahomica* Queen of *Bohemia*, who thought to have deſtroyed them, and re-introduced *Paganiſm*. About the Year 1420, they maintained a long Defenſive War againſt the Government and the Pope's Legats, under the Management of their brave Captain *Ziſca*, which was further Proſecuted, after him, by the remaining *Thaborites*. And again in that Country, *anno* 1618, they maintained a Defenſive War againſt the Emperor *Ferdinand* the 2*d*. Electing and Erecting a new King in Oppoſition to him, *Frederick Palatine of the Rhine*, in which cauſe many received the Crown of Martyrdom.

If we look to the Hiſtory of the *Waldenſes*, theſe conſtant Oppoſers of Antichriſt, we will find many inſtances of their reſiſtance. About the Year 1194 very early, while *Waldo* (from whom they had their Name) was alive, they began to defend themſelves by Arms, after the Bloody Edict of *Alphonſus* King of *Aragon*) an Edict ſo like to many of ours Emitted this Day, that, as it would ſeem, our Enemies have taken the Copy of it, ſo it were very ſeemly for the People grieved with ſuch Edicts, to imitate the Copy of the *Waldenſes* their Practice in oppoſition to them. *Anno* 1488 they reſiſted by Arms *Albert de Capitaneis* ſent by Pope *Innocent* the 8*th* in *Pragola* and *Fraſſaniere*, and throughout *Piedmont*; where for the moſt part the Off-ſpring of the Old *Waldenſes* had their Reſidence, where very evidently through many Succeſſions of Ages, they ſhowed themſelves to be the true Succeſſors of their Worthy Progenitors, Valiant for the Truth. That's a Famous inſtance of their Reſiſtance, in oppoſing ſo Vigorouſly the *Lord of Trinity* in that ſame *Piedmont*, at which Time they ſolemnly asked their Miniſters, *whether it were not lawful to defend themſelves againſt his Violence*, who anſwered Affirmatively, and accordingly, they did it with wonderful Succeſs. At that time, and many Times thereafter; eſpecially it is not out of the Memory of this preſent Age, How *anno* 1655, a Vigorous Defenſive War was Proſecuted againſt the Duke of *Savoy* by their Captains, *Gianavel*, *Jahier*, *&c.* Which was Eſpouſed by many Proteſtant Princes. *I* might inſtance alſo the *Waldenſes* of *Calabria*, *anno* 1560, who took up defenſive Arms in the Time of Pope *Pius* the 4. If we look over the Hiſtories of the *Albigences*, we find many inſtances of their Defenſive Reſiſtance of their oppreſſing Superiors. About *Anno* 1200, they defended themſelves at *Beziers* and *Carcaſſon*, againſt the Pope's Legate and his croſſed Soldiers, under the Conduct

Conduct first of the Earl of *Beziers*, and then of the Earl of *Foix*, and the Earl *Remand* of *Thoulouſe*, and were helped by the *Engliſh*, who then Poſſeſſed *Guienne*, bordering upon *Thoulouſe*; which Reſiſtance continued ſeveral Years. Afterwards, *Anno* 1226, they maintained a Reſiſtance againſt the King of *France*, and againſt his Son, *&c.* If we take a Glance of the *Germans*, we will find, at the very Commencement of the Reformation, as ſoon as they got the Name of Proteſtants, they reſiſted the Emperor *Charles* 5*th.* before *Anno* 1547. And in that Country many times. If we but caſt an Eye over to the *Hollanders*, we will find how much they ſtand obliged to this Principle of Defenſive Arms, having thereby recovered both Religion and Liberty, and Eſtabliſhed themſelves into a Flouriſhing State. We find in the time of the Duke *d' Alva's* Perſecution, they began to defend *Haerlem* and *Valenciennes* in *Henault*, which were Beſieged; and went on till under the Conduct of *William* of *Naſſaw* Prince of *Orange*, they declared the King of *Spain* to be fallen from the Government of theſe Countries, and ſo effectually ſhoke off the Yoke of *Spaniſh* Tyranny. If we go to the *French Huguenots*, we will find many inſtances among them, and many brave Heroes raiſed up to maintain this, I am pleading for, of Older and Latter date. The Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of *France* is ſtored with the Trophies. The Memoirs of *Conde* and *Coligni* are yet fragrant; and after the *Pariſian Maſſacre*, we find the Reſiſtance of *Sancerre*, *Anno* 1573, and *Rochel* then and ſince. If we ſend to the *Poles*, we are furniſhed with a late inſtance of their Reſiſtance, againſt the Sovereign Powers at *Leſna* in *Poland*, *Anno* 1655. And Generally, where-ever the Reformation was received, we find this Principle Eſpouſed, and the Practice of it Proſecuted. In *Scotland*, eſpecially this hath ever been owned and witneſſed unto, and wreſtled for, as a great Teſtimony and Inamiſſible Priviledge of all well affected to the cauſe of *CHRIST*, and intereſt of their Country; and was ever bleſſed with Succeſs, until the cauſe was betrayed by our Treachery, and Abandoned by our baſe Cowardice, into the Hands of theſe Tyrants that have overturned all, for which the LORD in His Holy Jealouſie and Indignation, Diſcountenances all our endeavours of this Nature, cutting us off, and putting us to ſhame, and diſdains to go forth with our Armies. The Inſtances are ſo Nottour, both in Queen *Mary's* Time and, in King *James*, and in King *Charles* the firſt's Time, that I need not adduce them.

But 2. From Scripture Proofs; I ſhall but briefly gather ſome of the many that might be preſſed, which being put together to me, ſeem impregnable. I ſhall reduce them to theſe Heads. 1. I ſhall adduce ſome Practices of the LORD's People, frequently reiterated, never condemned, always approven, confirming this Point. 2. Some ſevere Reprehenſions

prehenſions for their Omiſſion of this Duty in the Seaſon thereof. 3. Some Promiſes both of Spiriting for the Duty, and of Countenancing it when undertaken. 4. Some Prayers Suppplicating for it. All which put together will make a ſtronge Argument.

Firſt, for *Practices* of this kind, There is nothing more common in Scripture Hiſtory. 1. I ſhall begin at the firſt War that is Recorded in the World, wherein ſome Loſs fell to the Godly at firſt, but afterwards, by the Vertue and Valour of their Brethren they were Vindicated, and the Victory recovered with Honour; *Lot* and his Family living in *Sodom* was involved in the common Calamity. and Hazard, with the reſt of the Subjects of the *Plain*, who were engaged in a Rebellion againſt *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* and his Confederates, *whom they had ſerved Twelve Years, and in the Thirteenth Year they Rebelled, and in the Fourteenth Year they were Conquered* (*Gen.* 14. 4, and 5. *&c.*) *and among the reſt*, Lot *was taken* (*V.* 12.) but *Abraham hearing of it, armed his Trained Servants* 318, *and Purſued them to* Dan, *and reſcued him. V.* 14, 16. thereby juſtifying that Rebellion, by taking part with, and vindicating the Rebels. Here I argue thus. *He that may reſcue Subjects from the Violence of any Tyrannizing Domination by Arms, may alſo riſe with thoſe Subjects to Oppoſe that Violence. But* Abraham *did here reſcue Subjects from the Violence of* Chedorlaomer's *Tyrannizing Domination*, Ergo, *alſo he might and would have riſen with them to Oppoſe that Violence.* 2. After the LORD's People were Poſſeſſed of *Canaan*, and forgetting the LORD, did enter in Affinity with theſe interdicted Nations, *ſome of theſe Nations were left to prove* Iſrael, *that the Generations of the Children of* Iſrael *might know to teach them War*, Judges 3. 1, 2. *And when they did evil in the ſight of the LORD, he ſold them into the Hand of* Cuſhan Riſhathaim *King of* Meſopotamia, *whom they ſerved and were Subject to Eight Years. V.* 8. *But when they cryed unto the LORD*, their Rebellion, ſhaking off that Yoke of that Conqueror's Servitude, was Succeſsful under the Conduct of *Othniel*, *V.* 10. And after a Relapſe into the like Defection, they became Subject to *Eglon* King of *Moab*, whom they ſerved Eighteen Years. *V.* 14. but attempting the ſame Remedy by Arms under the Conduct of *Ehud*, they recovered their Liberty. *V. Seq. ad fin.* And after his Death falling into that Sin again, which procured the like Miſery, they became ſubject to *Jabin* King of *Canaan*, that Reigned in *Hazor* who had 900 Chariots of Iron, and 20 years he mightily Oppreſſed the Children of *Iſrael*, *Judges* 4. 1. 2, 3. but by the LORD's Command, under the Conduct of *Deborah* and *Barak* they rebelled and prevailed, *V.* 6, *&c.* Whence I take two Arguments. 1. *If it was the LORD's Deſign in letting Tyrants and Oppreſſors prevail over his People*

ple to teach them War, (which only could be againſt theſe Tyrants and Oppreſſors to whom they were ſubject) then when they were ſo Oppreſſed they might put that to Practice; But it was the LORD's Deſign in letting the Lords of the Philiſtines, and other Oppreſſing Tyrants prevail over his People, to teach them War, &c. Ergo, *when they were ſo Oppreſſed, they might and did put that in practice, in defending themſelves againſt their Superiors that Oppreſſed them.* 2. *If the LORD's People ſerving a Sovereign Domineering Power, may ſhake off the Yoke of their Subjection, then may they defend themſelves by Reſiſtance againſt them.* (for there is no other way of ſhaking it off) *but the LORD's People ſerving a Sovereign Domineering Power, may (as is clear by theſe Examples) ſhake off the Yoke of their Subjection to them.* Ergo, *they may defend themſelves againſt them.* Object. If any Cavil, that theſe were not their own Kings to whom they owed Allegiance, but only invading Conquerors, whom they might Reſiſt. I anſwer, firſt, yet they were the Soveraign Powers for the Time; and therefore if Royaliſts and Loyaliſts Grounds hold good, they ought upon no pretence whatſoever to have been Reſiſted, and tho' they were not indeed by Compact their own Kings, yet by Conqueſt they were, and alſo by their own Conſent, when they ſubjected themſelves and payed them King's Dues, *viz.* Tribute, *&c.* 2. No more are they our own Kings, who either intrude themſelves into an Arbitary Domination over us, (without any Terms of a Compact upon a pretence of Hereditary Succeſſion) or being our Covehanted Kings, overturn all the Conditions of their Compact, and degenerate into Tyrants. To ſuch we owe no Allegiance, more than *Iſrael* did to theſe Donominators. 3. I retort that Old *recocta cram be*, who ſhould be judge whether they were their own Lawful Kings or not? for they acted as Kings, and thought themſelves their Abſolute Lords, and gave themſelves out to be ſuch, and yet we find an approved Rebellion againſt them.

4. When *Iſrael* did evil again in the ſight of the LORD, they were ſubjected to the Domination of the Princes of *Midian*, who ruled over them ſeven Years, but when they cryed unto the LORD, *Gideon* was raiſed up to enterpriſe their Deliverance by a forcible Reſiſtance, who by a very few Men did wonderfully acccompliſh it according to Divine Commiſſion and Command, *Judges* 6 and 7 *Chap.* And having called his Brethren out of all Mount *Ephraim*, into a Conjunction with him in the Purſuit of his Victory, in the Proſecution of it, when he demanded ſupply of the Princes of *Succoth* and of the Men of *Penuel*, and they denyed it, he ſerved them as Enemies, and taught theſe of *Succoth* with Briers and Thorns, and beat down the Tower of *Penuel*, *Chap.* 7. Whence I argue, *If a ſmall Party may with GOD's Approbation deliver themſelves, and the whole of their Community, from the Bondage of their Oppreſſing Dominator's whom they had*

had ſerved ſeveral Years, and may Puniſh their Princes that do not come out to their help, in a Concurrence with them and encouragement of them, in that Attempt; then may a People defend themſelves againſt their Oppreſſors that Rule over them (and all ought to concur in it, or elſe there would not be Juſtice in puniſhing them that are defective in this Work; *But we ſee from this Example, that* Gideon *with a ſmall Party delivered themſelves, and the whole of their Community, from the Bondage of* Midian, *that ruled over them for ſeven Years, and puniſhed the Princes of* Succoth *and the Men of* Penuel, *for not encouraging them in the proſecution of that Attempt*, Ergo, &c. Object. If it be ſaid, *Gideon* and the reſt of theſe extraordinary raiſed Judges, were Magiſtrates, and therefore they might defend and deliver their their Country, which a private People, that are only Subjects, may not do. I anſwer, 1. They were ſubject to theſe Tyrants that Oppreſſed them, who were the Sovereign Powers of that Time, and yet they ſhoke off their Yoke by Defenſive Arms, 2. They were not then Magiſtrates, when they firſt appeared for their Country's Defence and Deliverance; neither in that did they act as ſuch, but only as Captains of Rebells, in the eſteem of them that had Power over them. It is clear, *Gideon* was not Ruler, till that Authority was conferred upon him, after the Deliverance. See *Judg.* 8. 22. *&c.* Yet he did all this before.

5. After the Death of that brave Captain and Judge *Gideon*, when *Abimelech*, the Son of his Whore, did firſt aſpire into a Monarchy, which by the ſame Arguments, which Royaliſts make ſo much of for Eſtabliſhing their Idol of Monarchy, he perſwaded the ſilly *Shechemites* to conſent to, and by Bloody Cruelty did uſurp a Monarchy or rather Tyrannical Throne of Domination, founded upon the Blood of his 70 Brethren, whom he Murdered all upon one Stone, except *Jotham*, who ſcorned to put his Truſt in the ſhadow of ſuch a Bramble; and they that did ſubmit, found his Parable verified, a mutual Fire Reciprocally conſuming both the Uſurping King, and his Traitorous Subjects; at length GOD ſending an Evil Spirit between *Abimelech* and the Men of *Shechem*, not only was he reſiſted by the Treacherous *Shechemites*, which was their Brand and Bane, in the Righteous Judgement of GOD, for their aiding him at firſt, in Killing of his Brethren; *Jud.* 9. 23, 24. *&c.* But alſo he was oppoſed by others of the Men of *Iſrael*, as at *Thebez*, where he was ſlain by a piece of a Milſtone, thrown by a Woman, *Verſ.* 50. *ad fin*, whence I argue, *If an Uſurping Tyrant, and Acknowledged King by the Generality, may be diſowned by the Godly, and threatened with GOD's Vengeance to conſume both him and his Accomplices, that comply with him, which will certainly fall out in the LORD's Righteous Judgement; and if he may be oppoſed and reſiſted, not only by theſe that ſet him up, but alſo by others that were in Subjection to him, and at length be Killed by them, without any reſentment of the reſt of the Nation; then*

many

may a People who had no Hand in the Erection of such a Dominator, defend themselves against his Force, But here is an Example of it, that Abimelech *an Usurping Tyrant, but acknowledged King by the Generality, was disowned by a Godly* Jotham, *and threatened with Vengeance to consume both him and the* Shechemites *his Complices (which accordingly fell out in the LORD's Righteous Judgement) when not only he was opposed by the* Shechemites, *that set him up, but also by the People at* Thebez, *who were before in Subjection to him, and Killed by them; and the rest of* Israel *did never resent it, but departed contented every Man unto his Place. Ergo, &c.*

6. When *Israel* again falling under the Tyrany of the Children of *Ammon*, oppressing them 18 Years, did by Defensive Arms and Resistance against these Supreme Powers, shake off their Yoke under the Conduct of *Jephthah* the *Gileadite*, they were challanged sharply by the Men of *Ephraim*, who, it seems, claimed the Supremacy and Prerogative of making War, and therefore came to Revenge, and Reduce *Jephthah* and his Community to order, and to Punish them for their Supposed breach of it, casting thereby a Copy to our regular Royalists and Loyalists who are very Tenacious of this Plea of the *Ephraimites*; that at least without the *Primores Regni* no War is to be made; yet we find *Jephthah* did not much regard it, but stoutly Defended himself, and slew of them 42060 Men, known by their Sibboleth (*Judg*: 12.) Whence I argue, *If People, when questioned for defending themselves, by them that claim a Superiority over them, and should deliver them, may defend themselves, both without them, and against them, then it is a People's Duty and Priviledge: But by this Example, we see* Jephthah *and his Party, when questioned, for defending themselves, by* Ephraim, *that claimed a Superiority over them, and should have delivered them, but did it not, defending themselves, both without them, against the* Ammonites, *and against the* Ephraimites themselves. Ergo, &c.

7. When they did Evil again in the sight of the LORD, and the LORD delivered them into the Hands of the *Philistines* 40 Years; whom the Men of *Judah* acknowledged for their Rulers, yet *Sampson*, that Rackle-handed Saint, never ceased from pelting them upon all occasions; and after many Mischiefs he had done them, when Three Hundered Men of *Judah* went up to the Rock *Etam*, to Expostulate with him for what he had done, so disorderly (as they thought) and said to *Sampson*, *knowest thou not, that the* Philistines *are Rulers over us? What is this that thou hast done. Sampson* Objects nothing against their being Rulers, but notwithstanding, prosecutes his Purpose of Vindicating himself, in the Defence of his Country. *As they did unto me*, says he, *so have I done unto them.* Judg. 15. 11. Hence I argue, *If Saints may avenge themselves upon them, whom the Country call Rulers, and inabled by GOD, may do to them, as they did to them; then may a People defend themselves against them: but here is an Example of a*

Saint, who avenged himself upon the Philiſtines, *whom the Country of the* Jews *called Rulers, and being inabled by GOD, did to them, as they did to him.* Ergo, &c.

8. After the Period of that *Theocracy*, which the LORD had maintained and Managed for ſome time, in great Mercy and Majeſty in, and over His People; wherein in their Diſtreſs, and under their Oppreſſions, *the LORD raiſed up Saviours, who delivered them Effectually*; and while they Truſted in GOD, and cryed to him in the uſe of this Priviledge of Defenſive Arms againſt their oppreſſing Rulers, they never wanted either Means or Succeſs; but itching after Novelties, and affecting to be Neighbour-like, when they rejected the LORD in deſiring a King, and the LORD permitted it, and gave them a King in His Wrath (the true Original and only Sanction of Monarchy) yet tho' we find the Characters of his Degeneration into Tyranny preſaged by *Samuel*, verified in *Saul's* aſpiring into a great deal of Abſoluteneſs; nevertheleſs the People did not wholly Mancipate this Priviledge of Reſiſtance, but we find inſtances of their maintaining and practiſing it, not only in *David's* Defenſive Appearance with his little Army; but before that, when in the Purſuit of the *Philiſtines*, he had charged the People with a Fooliſh Oath, like unto many of the inſnaring Oaths, that Monarchs uſe to impoſe upon People, *not to Eat any Food until Evening*, Jonathan *his Son Taſted but a little Honey, and ſo, he muſt die*, which *Saul* confirmed with another Peremptory Oath! *GOD do ſo to him, and more alſo, if he ſhould not die*, whereupon the People as reſolute on the other Hand to ſave him, who had wrought ſo great a Salvation in *Iſrael*, reſiſted the rage of that Ruler, and Swore as Peremptorily, that not one Hair of his Head ſhould fall to the Ground, *So the People Reſcued* Jonathan that he died not (1 *Sam.* 14. 15, 16.) Hence I argue, *If the People may reſiſt the Commands, and reſcue a Man from a Tyrant's Cruelty, then may they defend themſelves againſt him; but here is an Example, that the People of* Iſrael *reſiſted the Command, and reſcued* Jonathan *from the Cruelty of* Saul, *not only by Perſuaſion, but by Peremptory Reſolution, not to ſuffer it; for as they withſtood him in Words, when he gave but Words, ſo they would have withſtood him in Deeds, if he had attempted Force; ſeeing they Swear they would not let it be done.* Ergo, &c.

9. After the Seceſſion of the 10 Tribes from Subjection to the Houſe of *David*, when *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab* reigned over *Iſrael*, and had many ſignal Demonſtrations of the Power of GOD, exerted in the Miniſtry of his Servant *Eliſha*, which ſometimes did extort his Acknowledgment, and made him call the Prophet *his Father*, 2 *Kings* 6. 21. Yet when in the Strait Siege of *Samaria*, he was plagued with Famine for Idolatry, in ſo much, that the pitiful Mothers were made to eat their own tender

tender Children, that Tyrant was so incensed into a Madness of outrageous Malice against the Prophet *Elisha*, that he swore, *GOD do so to him, and more also, if the Head of* Elisha *the Son of* Shaphat *should stand on him that Day*; And accordingly sent a Messenger to execute it. But the Prophet stood upon his Defence, and encouraged those that were with him, to keep out the House against him, saying to the Elders, *See ye how this Son of a Murderer* (a proper Title for such a Monster of a King) *hath sent to take away mine Head? Look when the Messenger cometh, shut the Door, and hold him fast at the Door, is not the Sound of his Master's Feet behind him?* Where we see, he resolved to resist both the Man, and the Master, though the King of the Land for the Time. Whence I argue, *If a King, or his Messenger, coming to use unjust Violence against an Innocent Subject, be no more to be regarded than a Murderer's Emissary; but may be resisted by that innocent Subject; then may a Community of such innocent Subjects defend themselves against a King, or his Emissaries, coming against them, on such a wicked Errand: But here we see King* Jehoram *and his Messenger, both coming to kill innocent* Elisha, *were no more regarded, than a Murderer's Emissary; but were resisted by keeping them out, with shut Doors:* Ergo, &c.

10. In the Kingdom of *Judah*, after long Experience of a Succession of Hereditary Tyranny in many wicked Kings, the People at length, after they had long smarted for their early Loyalty, in their stupid abandoning, and forgetting, and forgoing this Priviledge of resisting their Superiors, began to bestir themselves, in their Endeavours to recover their lost Liberties, and repress Tyrants Insolencies, on several Occasions; wherein, tho' some times there were Extravagancies, when Circumstances did mar the Justice of the Action, and some did go beyond their Sphere into a tumultuary Precipitation; yet upon the Matter it was Justice, and in Conformity to a Moral Command, when not only they resisted their wicked Kings; but brought them to condign Punishment, for their Idolatry and Tyranny. *Joash* the Son of *Ahaziah*, after he degenerated into murdering Oppression, was slain by *Jozachar* and *Jehozabad*, 2 *Kin.* 12. 20, 21. But that was by his own Servants, in private Assassination; wherefore they are called Murderers, who were therefore punished by *Amaziah* his Son, 2 *Kin.* 14. 5, 6. But upon the Matter, it was the Justice of GOD, which he deserved, if it had been duly execute; for the Blood of the Son of *Jehoiadah* the Priest, 2 *Chron.* 24. 25. So *Ammon* the Son of *Manasse*, for his walking in the Way of his Father, in Idolatry and Tyranny, and forsaking the LORD GOD of his Fathers, was slain in his own House, by his Servants, who conspired against him; but tho' this was Justice also upon the Matter, and consonant to the Command, for punishing Idolaters and Murderers; yet because defective in the

Manner, and done by them that took too much upon them, in a perfidious Way of private Aſſaſſination and Conſpiracy; therefore the People of the Land puniſhed them for it, 2 *Kin.* 21. 23, 24. But the repreſſing and puniſhing of *Amaziah* is a more unexceptionable Inſtance. *The People made a Conſpiracy againſt him in* Jeruſalem, *and he fled to* Lachiſh, *but they ſent after him to* Lachiſh, *and ſlew him there*, 2 *Kin.* 14. 19. *After the Time that he turned away from following the* LORD, 2 *Chron.* 25. 27. which was according to the Command, *Deut.* 13, 12. which hath no Exception of Kings in it. This Action was not queſtioned, either by the People or his Succeſſor, as the fore-mentioned Conſpiracies were. His Son *Uzziah* ſucceeding, who did Right, and conſulted the LORD, 2 *Chron.* 26. 3, 5. did not reſent nor revenge his Father's Death, which certainly he would have done by Advice of *Zachariah*, who had Underſtanding in the Viſions of GOD, if it had been a Tranſgreſſion. The famous and faithful Mr. *Knox* doth clear this Paſſage beyond Contradiction, in his Conference with *Lethingtoun*, as alſo *Jus Populi*. Hence I take an Argument *a fortiori*, *If People may conſpire and concur in executing Judgment upon their King, turning Idolater and Tyrant; then much more may they defend themſelves againſt his Violence: But by this Example we ſee, that the People did conſpire, and concur in executing Judgment upon their King* Amaziah, *turning Idolater*, &c. Ergo.

11. The ſame Power and Priviledge of People's reſiſting their Prince, was examplified in the Succeſſor of him laſt mentioned, *viz.* in *Uzziah*, the Son of *Amaziah*, called *Azariah*, 2 *Kin.* 15. when he degenerated into the Ambition of arrogating a Supremacy in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtick; Sacred as well as Civil. *His Heart was lifted up to his Deſtruction, for he tranſgreſſed againſt the* LORD, *and went into the Temple of the* LORD, *to burn Incenſe*; in which Uſurpation he was reſiſted by *Azariah* the Prieſt, and with Fourſcore Prieſts of the LORD, that were valiant Men, who withſtood him, who told him, It did not appertain to him to take upon him ſo much, and bade him go out of the Sanctuary, or elſe it ſhould not be for his Honour; which indeed he ſtomached at, as an Affront to be ſo controlled and reſiſted; but in thinking to reſent it, he was plagued of the LORD with Leproſie, which the Prieſts looking upon, they thruſt him out from thence, and ſequeſtrated him from all Supremacy, both that which he had before in Things Civil, and that which he was affecting in Matters Sacred. For he was made to dwell in a ſeveral Houſe being a Leper, and to reſign the Government to his Son *Jotham*'s Hands. 2 *Chron.* 26. 16, 21. Whence I argue, *If a Prince for his Uſurpation beyond his Line in Things Sacred, may by the Prieſts be excommunicated, and thereafter depoſed; then may a Prince, uſurping both Sacred and Civil Things, and oppreſſing his Subjects in all their Liberties, be reſiſted?*

But

But here is an Example of the former, that Uzziah *for his Uſurpation upon the Prieſt's Office, was firſt excommunicated, and then depoſed,* Ergo, &c.

We have alſo an Inſtance of this in the Reign of *Jehoram*, the Son of *Jehoſhaphat*, who turned Apoſtate and Tyrant, *and ſlew all his Brethren with the Sword, and diverſe alſo of the Princes of* Iſrael; *moreover he made High Places in the Mountains of* Judah, *and cauſed the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem *to commit Fornication, and compelled* Judah *thereto; for which Cauſe of his intolerable Inſolency in Wickedneſs,* Libnah *one of the Cities of* Judah *revolted from under his Hand, becauſe he had forſaken the LORD GOD of his Fathers,* 2 *Chron.* 21. 10. Which was the Motive of their Reſolution; and is not to be detorted to that reſtricted Cavil of Royaliſts, underſtanding it only as the procuring Cauſe of his Puniſhment: For in that Senſe, it might as well be ſaid of the *Edomites*, who revolted at the ſame Time, and of the *Philiſtines*, and *Arabians* and *Ethiopians, whoſe Spirit the LORD ſtirred up againſt him.* Theſe were alſo a Puniſhment unto him, but it is not ſaid, neither would it ſound ſo ſuitably, That they made their Oppoſition, *becauſe he had forſaken the LORD GOD of his Fathers:* But this was the very formal Reaſon of *Libnah*'s Revolt. Whence I argue, *If a People may revolt from a Prince, and diſown their Allegiance, becauſe of his Apoſtacy and Tyranny, then much more may they reſiſt his Force. But there is an Example of* Libnah's *Revolt from, and diſowning their Allegiance to* Jehoram, becauſe of his Apoſtacy and Tyranny, *&c. Ergo, &c.*

13. After the Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, when the *Jews* fell about the Work of building the Temple, which they would do by themſelves, and not admit of any Aſſociation with Malignants, upon their ſiniſter Miſinformation and Sycophantick Accuſation, *That they were building the rebellious and bad City, and would refuſe to pay the King Toll, Tribute and Cuſtom, they were ſtraitly diſcharged by* Artaxerxes *the King of* Perſia, *to proceed in their Work,* under the Prohibition was execute by Force and Power, *Ezr.* 4. But by the Encouragement of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, countermanding the King's Decree, they would not be hindered from the Work of the LORD, *the Eye of their GOD being upon them;* tho' *Tatnai* the Governor of thoſe Parts, *Shetharboznai*, and their Companions would have boaſted them from it, with the uſual Arguments of Malignants, *Who hath commanded you to do ſo and ſo?* Ezr. 5. 3, 5. And yet this was before the Decree of *Darius* was obtained in their Favours, *Ezr.* 6. Whence I argue, *If a People may proſecute a Duty, without and againſt a King's Command, and before an Allowance by Law can be obtained; then may a People reſiſt their Commands, and Force uſed to execute them: But here is an Example that the* Jews *did proſecute the Work of the LORD, without and againſt* Artaxerxes *his Command, and before* Darius *his Allowance could be obtained.* Ergo, &c.

14. When

14. When *Nehemiah* came to *Jeruſalem*, and invited the *Jews* to build up the Walls of the City, they ſtrengthened their Hands for that good Work, againſt very much Oppoſition; and when challenged by *Sanballat* the *Horonite*, and *Tobiah* the Servant the *Ammonite*, and *Geſhem* the *Arabian*, great King's-Men all of them, who fell to deſpiſe and boaſt 'em, *What is this that ye do? Will ye rebel againſt the King?* ſay they. He would not plead Authority, tho' in the general he had the King's Warrant for it; yet he would not give them any other Satisfaction, than to intimate to them, That whether they had that or not, having the Call of GOD to the Work, they would go on in the Duty, and GOD would proſper them againſt that Oppoſition, *Neh.* 2. 19, 20. And accordingly, notwithſtanding of all their Scoffs, Plots and Conſpiracies to fight againſt *Jeruſalem*, and to hinder the Building; yet they went on, and were encouraged to remember the LORD, and fight for their Brethren, their Sons and their Daughters, their Wives and their Houſes, and to build with Weapons in their Hands, *Neh.* Chap. 4. and brought it to an End, notwithſtanding of all their Practices, to fruſtrate them from it, Chap. 6. Hence I argue, *If neither Challenges of Rebellion, nor Practices of Malignant Enemies, who pretend Authority, nor any Diſcouragements whatſoever ſhould deter People from a Duty, which they have a Call, and Capacity from GOD to proſecute, and if they may promove it againſt all Oppoſition, by Defenſive Arms; then when a People are oppreſſed, and treated as Rebels, for a Neceſſary Duty, they may defend themſelves and maintain their Duty, notwithſtanding of all Pretences of Authority againſt them: But here neither Challenges of Rebellion, nor the Practices of* Tobiah *and* Sanballat, &c. *nor any Diſcouragements whatſoever, did deter the* Jews *from building the Wall, to which they had a Call and Capacity from GOD; but they were reſolved to defend themſelves againſt all Oppoſition:* Ergo, &c.

I ſhall add but one Inſtance more from the Hiſtory of *Eſther*; Becauſe *Mordecai* refuſed to do Homage to a Hang-man (*Haman*, I ſhould ſay) a cruel Edict was procured from *Ahaſuerus*, to deſtroy, to kill and to cauſe to periſh all the *Jews*, both young and old, which was written, and ſealed with the King's Ring, according to the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, becoming a Law irrevocable and irreverſible, *Eſth.* 3. 12, 13. Yet the LORD's Providence, always propitious to his People, brought it about ſo, that *Haman* being hanged, and *Mordecai* advanced to Honour, the *Jews*, were called and capacitated, as well as neceſſitated, to reſiſt their armed Authority, that decreed to maſſacre them, and that by the King's own Allowance, *Eſth.* Chap. 9. When his former Decree drew near to be put in Execution, *In the Day that the Enemies of the* Jews *hoped to have Power over them, it was turned to the con-*

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trary, that the Jews had Rule over them, that hated them, and no Man could withstand them, for the Fear of them fell upon all People. Here they had the Allowance of Authority, to resist Authority: And this was not a Gift of new Right by that Remit, which they had not before, only it was corroborative of their Radical Right to defend themselves, which is not the Donative of Princes, and which they had Power to exercise, and use without this, tho' may be not that same Capacity. From which I argue, *If a People may have the Allowance of well advised Authority, to resist the Decree, and Force of unlawful Authority, then may a People maintain Right Authority, in defending themselves, against the Injuries of pretended Authority: But by this Instance, we see, the* Jews *had* Ahasuerus *his Allowance to resist the Decree, and Force of his own ill advised Authority, tho' irreversible. Ergo, A People may maintain Right Authority, in resisting and defending themselves against the Injuries of pretended Authority.* And hence we see, That Distinction, so much cried out against, is not groundless, between resisting the Authority of Supreme Powers, and the Abuses of the same.

2. We have in the Scriptures some both tacite and expres Reproofs, for lying by from this Duty of Defensive Resistance, in the Season thereof. As 1. In *Jacob's* Swain's-Song, or Prophetical Testament, declared to his Children before his Death; wherein he foretels, what should be the State and future Condition of each of the Tribes, that were come of his Loins, and what should be remarked in their Carriage, influencing their After-Lot, in their Generations, for which they should be commended or discommended, approved or reproved; coming to *Issachar*, he prophetically exprobates his future *Ass-like Stupidity*, that indulging himself in his lazie Ease, and luckwarm Security, he should mancipate himself, and his Interest into a servile Subjection unto his Oppressor's Imposition, even when he should be in a Capacity to shake them off, and free himself by Resistance. *Gen.* 49. 14, 15. Issachar *is a strong Ass, couching down between two Burdens; and he saw that Rest was good, and the Land that it was pleasant, and bowed his Shoulders to bear, and became a Servant to Tribute.* This is set down by the Holy Ghost as the Brand and Bane, not of the Person of *Issachar Jacob's* Son, but of the Tribe of *Issachar*; to be inured upon them, when they should be in such a Condition, by their own sillineſs. Hence I argue, *If the Holy Ghost exprobate a People for their stupid Subjection to prevailing Tyranny, when they do not improve their Ability, Capacity and Right, to maintain and defend their Liberties and Priviledges; then this implies a Commanded Duty to defend them, according to their Capacity from all unjust Invasion: But in this part of* Jacob's *Testament, the Holy Ghost exprobates* Issachar's *stupid Subjection to prevailing Tyranny, when they should not improve their Ability, Capacity and Right to maintain and defend their*

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Liberties and Privileges. Ergo, *This implies a commanded Duty, that they ſhould have defended them, according to their Capacity, from all unjuſt Invaſion.* 2. In the above mentioned Inſtance of *Barak*'s Rebellion againſt *Jabin* and *Siſera* his Captian, having been ſubject to that Domination for 20 Years, during all which Time *Jabin* was acknowledged to have the Poſſeſſion of the Supreme Power; we find in *Deborah*'s Song, after the Victorious Reſiſtance, the People are ſeverely upbraided for not concurring in that Expedition, *Jud.* 5. 16, 17, 23. *Some abode among the Sheep-folds, to hear the bleatings of the Flocks, for the Diviſions of* Ruben *there were great Searchings of Heart.* Gilead *abode beyond* Jordan. Dan *remained in Ships.* Aſher *continued in the Sea Shore, and abode in his Breaches.* Meroz *is curſed by the Angel of the* LORD, *becauſe they came not to the Help of the* LORD, *to the Help of the* LORD *againſt the Mighty.* This is recorded as a laſting Reproof againſt all that will withdraw their helping Hand from the LORD's People, when neceſſitate to appear in Defenſive Arms, for the Preſervation of their Lives and Liberties: On the other Hand *Zebulun* and *Nephtali* are commended for *jeoparding their Lives, unto the Death in the high Places of the Field*; and are approven in that Practice of fighting againſt the Kings of *Canaan*, that then ruled over them. V. 18, 19. Whence I argue, *If a People be reproved, and curſed for ſtaying at Home, to look to their own Intereſts, when others jeoparded their Lives for their Country's Defence, and Freedom from Tyranny and Oppreſſion; then this implies, its a Duty to concur in ſo Venturing: But here* Ruben, Dan, Aſher *and* Meroz, &c. *are reproved and curſed for ſtaying at Home, to look to their own Intereſt, when* Zebulun *and* Nephtali *jeoparded their Lives, for their Country's Defence, and Freedom from Tyranny and Oppreſſion.* Ergo, &c.

3. We have in the Scriptures many Promiſes of the LORD's approving and countenancing this Duty of Defenſive Arms, even againſt their oppreſſing Rulers. As *1ſt.* In that forecited Teſtament of the Patriarch *Jacob*, in that Part of it, which concerns *Gad*: He propheſies that that Tribe ſhould have a Lot in the World anſwering his Name, and be engaged in many Conflicts, with oppreſſing Dominators, who at firſt ſhould prevail over him, but at length GOD ſhould ſo bleſs his Endeavours to free himſelf from their Oppreſſions, that he ſhould overcome. There is an excellent Elegancy in the Original, anſwering to the Etymology of the Name *Gad*, which ſignifies a *Troop*; reading thus in the *Hebrew*, Gad, *a Troop ſhall overtroop him; but he ſhall overtroop them at the laſt*, Gen. 49. 19. And *Moſes* homologating the ſame Teſtimony, in his bleſſing the Tribes of *Iſrael* before his Death, ſpeaking of this Tribe of *Gad*, ſhows that he ſhould make a very forcible and ſucceſsful Reſiſtance, and ſhould execute the Juſtice of the LORD over his Oppreſſors, *Deut.* 33. 20, 21. Where-

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in is implied a Promiſe of a Reſiſtance to be made againſt oppreſſing Conquerors, who ſhould acquire the ſupreme Rule over them for a Time, and the Succeſs of that Reſiſtance (for overcoming neceſſarily ſuppoſes Reſiſtance.) Hence my Argument in Form runs thus, *Where there is a Promiſe of Succeſs at laſt to a People's Conflicts againſt prevailing Tyrants, there is implied an Approbation of the Duty, and alſo a Promiſe of its Performance, wrapped up in that Promiſe; But in this part of* Jacob's *and* Moſes's *Teſtaments, concerning* Gad, *there is a Promiſe of Succeſs at laſt, to* Gad's *Conflicts againſt prevailing Tyranny.* Ergo, *Here is implied an Approbation of the Duty,* &c. The Connection of the *Major*, I prove thus, *Where a penal Miſery is promiſed to be removed by Means of a People's Reſiſtance, therein is couched an Approbation of that Reſiſtance: But here a penal Miſery* (that Troop's prevailing Conqueſt) *is promiſed to be removed by Means of* Gad's *Reſiſtance* (*for they could never overcome without Reſiſtance*). Ergo &c. 2. Among many other Bleſſings promiſed to a People walking in the LORD's Statutes, and keeping his Commandments *Levit.* 26. It is promiſed, their War ſhall be ſucceſsful. *V.* 7, 8. *Ye ſhall chaſe your Enemies and they ſhall fall before you by the Sword, five of you ſhall chaſe one hundred and one hundred ſhall put ten thouſand to flight.* And in caſe of Diſobedience it is threatened, they ſhall be ſubject to Tyrants. *V.* 17. *I will ſet my face againſt you, and ye ſhall be ſlain before your Enemies. They that hate you ſhall Reign over you and ye ſhall flee when none purſueth.* Whence by the Law of Contraries, comparing the Promiſe and the threatening together, here muſt be a Promiſe of and to Defenſive War againſt Oppreſſing Rulers, for the Enemy is the ſame, and the War is the ſame; only in the one caſe attended with Succeſs, in the other not. But in the caſe threatened it is defenſive againſt Oppreſſing Rulers: *Ergo*, alſo in the caſe promiſed. And grant the Promiſe be to Offenſive War, it muſt be much more to Defenſive. There is no Diſtinction here, if it be with Authority, or if it be againſt Authority; for if the caſe promiſed, where there are but five or a hundred, there is but little Authority; and its inſinuated that even in that caſe they ſhall have Succeſs: And as the Curſe threatened does ſuppoſe, that their War ſhall be againſt prevailing Authority for the Time, *V.* 17. So alſo the Bleſſing promiſed, does not exclude that, but that it may be even againſt their hating and hateful Rulers, as many Examples prove. 3. In that Threatening againſt Tyrants, ſhowing how they ſhall be thruſt away and burnt with Fire, there is couched a Promiſe (and alſo an implyed Precept) of reſiſting them. 2 *Sam.* 23. 3, 7. Where that Princely Prophet *David*, being about to leave the World, under ſome Challenges of Mal-adminiſtration in his Government, (for which he betook himſelf to the *well ordered Covenant* for his encouragement) he gives the

true Character of Righteous Rulers, and of Uſurping Tyrants, making an Oppoſition between the one and the other, promiſing Bleſſings upon the Government of the one, and Contempt and Rejection of the other, and ſhewing how both ſhould be carried towards. Of rightful and Righteous Rulers, he ſays, *V.* 3. *The Rock of* Iſrael *ſpake to me, he that ruleth over Men muſt be juſt, ruling in the Fear of* GOD, *and he ſhall be as the Light of the Morning, when the Sun riſeth, as a Morning without Clouds, as the tender Graſs ſpringing out of the Earth by clear ſhining after Rain;* But of Uſurping Tyrants he ſays, *V.* 6. *But the Sons of* Belial *ſhall be all of them as Thorns thruſt away, becauſe they cannot be taken with Hands, but the Man that ſhall touch them muſt be fenced with Iron, and the Staff of a Spear, and they ſhall be utterly burnt with Fire in the ſame place.* Which clearly implies Reſiſtance againſt them, and more than that, Rejection and Repreſſion of their Oppreſſing Violence. I know ſome Commentators underſtand this of Rebels againſt Righteous Rulers, which though indeed it be a Truth, that they which are ſuch ſhall be ſo ſerved, that is, thruſt away as Thorns, and roughly handled with Iron and the Staff of a Spear; yet is not ſo conſonant to the Scope and Connection of this place, nor to the clear Oppoſition that is here made betwixt Rulers, *that are juſt, ruling in the Fear of* GOD, *and thoſe that are Rulers of* Belial. Neither does it agree with the Words themſelves, where the Supplement in our Tranſlation is redundant, for it is not in the *Hebrew*, *the Sons of* Belial, only *they of* Belial, clearly relative to the Rulers of whom he was ſpeaking before. Neither is it always agreeable to Truth, to underſtand it only of Rebels againſt Righteous Rulers, *that they can never be touched with Hands, but fenced with Iron, &c.* For as very rarely Righteous Rulers have any Rebels to be the Objects of ſuch Rigour and Rage; ſo when there are any Diſcreet and Wiſe Rulers, will find many other ways to take and touch them, and quaſh or quiet them with Hands, by the Power of Juſtice or Authority of Laws, without ſuch roughneſs; But it is always true of Tyrants; for they can never be repreſſed or reſtrained or dealt with any other way, but by a forcible and well fenced Reſiſtance. Hence I argue, *If it be threatened as a Curſe againſt Rulers of* Belial, *and promiſed as a Bleſſing that they ſhall be ſo roughly handled; then this implies a Duty to Reſiſt them, who cannot be otherwiſe taken: But here it is threatened as a Curſe againſt Rulers of* Belial, *and promiſed as a Bleſſing that they ſhall be ſo roughly handled, when they cannot be otherwiſe taken.* Ergo, *&c.*

4. When the LORD ſhall have Mercy on *Jacob*, and chooſe *Iſrael*, it is promiſed, *Iſa.* 14. 2, 3. *That they ſhall take them Captives, whoſe Captives they were, and they ſhall Rule over their Oppreſſors, and the* LORD *will give them reſt from their Sorrow, and from their Fear, and from the hard Bon-*

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dage, wherein they were made to Serve. This necessarily implies and infers a Promise of Resistance against these Oppressing Rulers, in the time of their Domineering, as well as Revenge, after their Yoke should be broken; and something of Mens Action, as well as GOD's Judgements in breaking that Yoke, for they could not take them Captives, nor Rule over them, except they first resisted them whose Captives they were. There is resisting of the Supreme Power's Subjection, whereunto was the Bondage wherein they were made to Serve. Hence I argue, *If it be promised that a Captivated and Subjugated People shall break the Yoke, and free themselves of the Bondage of them that had them in Subjection, then it is promised, that in that case, they must resist the Supreme Powers.* (*For such were they whose Captives they were,*) *But here it is promised, that a Captivated and Subjugated People shall break the Yoke, and free themselves of the Bondage of them that had them in Subjection.* Ergo, &c. 5. In that Promise of the Church's Deliverance and Enlargement, wherein they are Prophetically urged and stirred up to some Activity in Co-operating with the Providence. *Isa.* 52. 1, 2. They are called *to awake, and put on Strength, and their Beautiful Garments, and to shake themselves from the Dust, and to arise and loose themselves from the Bands of their Neck that were Captives*; there is also contained a promise of their being Active in delivering themselves, as Men, from the Encroachments that were made on their Humane Liberties, that they should loose themselves from these Bands. Whose Bands? *From their Bands that ruled over them, and made them to howl, and the LORD's Name to be Blasphemed, Vers.* 5. Here is a Promise of breaking the Bands of Rulers, by them who howled under their Subjection; and it also includes a Precept, that that People should not stay any longer under the Yoke of Tyrants, than they could shake it off. Hence I argue, *A Promise by way of Command, that a People under Bands of Oppressing Rulers, shall rouse themselves up, to loose themselves from them, implies and infers a Promise and a Duty of resisting these Rulers; for how otherwise could they loose themselves. But here is a Promise by way of Command, that a People under Bands of Oppressing Rulers, shall rouse themselves up, to loose themselves from them.* Ergo, &c. 6. There are Promises of the LORD's making use of His People, and Strengthening them to break in pieces, the Power of his and their Enemies; which certainly supposes a Promised Success unto, and Approbation of their Insurrections against them, and His Defending and Maintaining them against all their Power and Projects, when they think most to prevail over them, as is promised to them in the threatened Catastrophe of the *Babylonian* Usurpation. *Jer.* 51. 20, 24. Where he shews, how sometimes He will Honour His People as Instruments of the Debellation of them that ruled over them. *Thou art* (says he to *Israel*) *My Battle-Ax, and Weapons of War, for with thee*

will I Break in pieces the Nations, and with thee will I destroy Kingdoms; with thee will I break in pieces the Horse and his Rider, the Chariot and his Rider, Man and Woman, Old and Young, the Young Man and the Maid, the Shepherd and his Flock, the Husband Man and his Yoak of Oxen; and in thee will I break in pieces Captains and Rulers, and I will render unto Babylon *and to all the Inhabitants of* Caldea, *all their Evil that they have done in* Zion. Hence I argue, *If the LORD will make use of His People's Vindictive Arms against* Babylon, *Ruling over them, then He will justifie their Defensive Arms against* Babylon *Oppressing them. But here is a Promise, that He will make use of His Peoples Vindictive Arms against* Babylon *Ruling over them.* Ergo, &c. Whensoever this hath been or shall be Accomplished, it clearly implyes their breaking in pieces the Powers that were Supreme over them. 7. There are Promises that the LORD's People, when their Rulers are incensed against the Holy Covenant, and Arms shall stand on their part, to Pollute their Sanctuary of Strength, and when many of their Brethren that should concur with them shall be Freighted from their Duty by Fear, or Corrupt with Flatteries, shall be made strong and do Exploits: Tho' in such Enterprizes that may want Success for some time, and fall by the Sword and Flame, and by Captivity and by Spoil many Days. *Dan.* 11. 30. 34. which is very near paralel to the case of the Covenanted People of *Scotland*, in their Appearing in Defensive Exploits against their Covenant-breaking-Rulers, these many Years bygone. This was very Eminently fulfilled in the History of the *Maccabees*, before Rehearsed. Hence I argue, *If it be Promised that a People shall be strong and do Exploits in Resisting the Arms of their Rulers, Oppressing their Covenant, and overturning their Religion and Liberties, then it must be approven that such a Resistance is lawful, even tho' it want Success; but here it is promised, that a People shall be strong to do Exploits, in Resisting the Arms of their Rulers Oppressing their Covenant, and overturning their Religion and Liberties.* Ergo, &c. 8. There are Promises given for the Encouragement of the LORD's spoiled and oppressed People, even when in their lowest most Despicable and Desperate case, *to Trust in the LORD's Sufficiency* to enable them to rescue themselves from their Oppressors, founded upon His Glorious Titles, who is the Object of their Adoration, whom they should seek. *Amos* 5. 9. *He Strengtheneth the Spoiled against the Strong, so that the spoiled shall come against the Fortress; which Promise is given them, to Encourage them not to comply with the unlawful Commands of their Rulers, imposing a false Worship upon them,* to go to Gilgal, Beersheba *and* Bethel. *Vers.* 5. But that they should wait upon GOD, who should Strengthen them to recover their own, tho' they should be Spoiled for such Non-conformity. Hence I argue, *Where there is a Promise so General, as includes Resistance against all Spoilers*

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whatſoever, and of Attacking them in their ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes; there are not excluded Spoiling Rulers, tho' never ſo Supreme in Power, but that they may be Reſiſted too: But here is a Promiſe ſo General, as includes Reſiſtance againſt all Spoilers whatſoever, and of Attacking them in their ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes. Ergo, &c. 9. There are Promiſes of the LORD's People being imployed and Spirited, not only to Revenge themſelves on their always-implacable-declared-Enemies, but alſo that they ſhall in Righteouſneſs Vindicate themſelves upon, and againſt their falſe pretended Brethren, that ſhould have helped them in their reſiſting of the Oppreſſing Dominators, that were ſo far from giving them that Aſſiſtance, *that they rejoyced over them, and Spoke proudly in the Day of their Deſtruction, and laid Hands on their Subſtance, and ſtood in the Croſs Way, to cut off them, that Eſcaped; it is Threatned againſt them, that as they had done, it ſhould be done unto them, and their Reward ſhould return upon their own Head.* But unto the LORD's People, ſo Oppreſſed and Spoiled of Enemies, and abuſed by their Allies, it is promiſed, *That the Houſe of* Jacob *ſhall be a Fire, and the Houſe of* Joſeph *a Flame, and the Houſe of* Eſau *for Stubble, and they ſhall kindle in them, and devour them, and that they ſhall poſſeſs what formerly by them they were diſpoſſeſſed of; and Saviours ſhall come up on Mount* Zion *to judge the Mount of* Eſau, *and the Kingdom ſhall be the LORD's,* Obad. V 18. to the End. In which Promiſe clearly is implied, That after they ſhall have broken the Yoke of their oppreſſing Rulers, they ſhall fall upon their treacherous Allies, and reſcue their own from them; which ſuppoſes a Reſiſtance againſt both. Hence I argue, *If in a Day of Deliverance, the People of GOD are not to ſpare their treacherous Allies, but reſcue from them what they have robbed, then they will not, and muſt not ſpare, but reſiſt their truculent Enemies, though they be their Rulers: But here it is promiſed, that in a day of Deliverance, the People of GOD are not to ſpare their treatherous Allies, but reſcue from them what they have robbed.* Ergo, &c. 10. There are Promiſes of the LORD's People prevailing by Defenſive Arms, over many People and Nations, that ſhall think to domineer over them, *Micah* 4. 11. *ad finem, That many Nations ſhall be gathered to defile and look upon* Zion, *but that they ſhall not know the Thoughts of the LORD, nor underſtand his Counſel, for he ſhall gather them as Sheaves into the Floor, and then the LORD ſhall give Allowance and Commiſſion to his People, to ariſe and threſh, for he will make their Horn Iron, and their Hooves Braſs, and they ſhall beat in Pieces many People, and their Gain ſhall be conſecrated unto the LORD, and their Subſtance unto the LORD of the whole Earth.* What Time the Accompliſhment of this is referred to, is not my Concern to enquire; it doth doubtleſs look to the New Teſtament Time, and to the latter Days of that Diſpenſation, when both the *Jewiſh* and Gentile *Zion*, ſhall be totally and finally delivered from *Babylon*;

or Antichriſtian Tyranny. Before, or about which Period, the Enemies of CHRIST & of his People, ſhall attempt their ULTIMUS CONATUS to deſtroy the Church; but when they are all well muſtered in a general Rendevouze, the LORD's People ſhall have gallant Game at the Chaſe. But whenſoever the Time be of fulfilling the Promiſe, it enſures to the People of GOD the Succeſs of their defenſive Arms, againſt them that intended and pretended a Domination over them. For doubtleſs, among theſe many Nations, that ſhould gather againſt Zion, were theſe chiefly under whoſe Subjection they had been long groaning; and it looks to a Time when they ſhould have no Rulers of their own, but ſhould be brought to a very low Paſs; yet here is not only implied a Reſiſtance, but expreſly promiſed, That they ſhould threſh them. In like Manner, in the following Chapter, with reſpect to the ſame Time and Period of the New Teſtament Diſpenſation, after the Birth of CHRIST in the Goſpel Conqueſt over Nations, when CHRIST ſhall be great unto the Ends of the Earth (which ſhall be moſt ſignally in the Latter Days) it is promiſed to the People of GOD, *That when the* Aſſyrian (that is the Antichriſtian Uſurpers, ſerving themſelves Heirs to, and proſecuting the old Quarrel of the *Aſſyrian* Tyranny over the Church) *ſhall tread in their Palaces; then they ſhall raiſe againſt him ſeven Shepherds, and Eight principal Men, and they ſhall waſte the Land of* Aſſyria *with the Sword, and the Land of* Nimrod, *in the Entrances thereof: Thus ſhall they be delivered from the* Aſſyrian, *when he cometh into their Land, and when he treadeth within their Borders; and the Remnant of* Jacob *ſhall be among the Gentiles in the midſt of many People, as a Lion among the Beaſts of the Forreſt, as a young Lion among the Flocks of Sheep, who if he go through, both treadeth down and teareth in Pieces, and none can deliver; their Hand ſhall be lift up upon their Adverſaries, and all their Enemies ſhall be cut off.* That this Propheſie is to be referred to the Goſpel Times, and the latter Times of that Diſpenſation, cannot be denied, and that herein is implied, not only a Reſiſtance againſt prevailing and uſurping Dominators; but a ſucceſful Conqueſt over them, cannot be diſputed: And to reſtrict the Senſe of it to the Spiritual Conqueſt over the Nations, by the Miniſtry of the Word (tho' I will not deny, but that is included) ſeems too great a Straitening of the Scope, and not ſo appoſite to the Expreſſions of *waſting with the Sword, and as a Lion treading down, and tearing in Pieces, lifting up the Hand upon the Adverſaries, and cutting off the Enemies*; which certainly imports ſome forcible Action of Men, and more than the peaceable Propagation of the Goſpel, without Stroak of Sword. And it is certain alſo, that the Perſons to be reſiſted here, are theſe that arrogated a Power over them, and at a Time when they ſhould

prevail

prevail. *Hence I argue, If in the Latter Days the People of GOD are to be Honoured, and acted forth with such a Spirit and Capacity, to thresh and beat down these Powers, under which they have been long groaning, and to raise their Principal Men against them, and waste their Land with the Sword, and tread down and tear them in pieces, &c. Then when the Lord puts them in a Capacity to attempt it, they should be Ambitious of such an Honour; but it is promised that the LORD's People shall be Honoured and acted forth with such a Spirit and Capacity,* &c. *Ergo,* 11. There are Promises, That after the LORD's Indignation against his People is accomplished, and after they have long lain under the Feet of Tyrants, the LORD will raise up Instruments to break their Power. *Zech.* 1. 19, 20. The Prophet sees in the Vision four Carpenters resisting the four Horns. *The Horns scattered* Judah, *so that no Man did lift up his Head, but the Carpenters, came to fray them, to cast out the Horns of the Gentiles, which lifted up their Horn over the Land of Judah to scatter it.* These Horns had the Supreme Power over *Judah* for a Time, while they were in no capacity to resist them, but as soon as the LORD furnishes them with capacity and Instruments impowered to resist them, they do it effectually. The Carpenters are certainly the LORD's People themselves, for here they are Stated in Opposition to the Gentiles, which all were, except the LORD's People. Hence I argue, *If the LORD promises, when reconciled to His People, to furnish them with Instruments of fray, and to scatter the Power of Tyrants, who have long born down their Head; then when they are so furnished they may resist them. But the LORD here promises, when reconciled to his* People, *to furnish them with Instruments to fray, and to scatter the Power of Tyrants, who have long born down their Head.* Ergo, &c. 12. There are, Promises That after the LORD's People have been long kept as Prisoners under the Bondage of their Oppressing Rulers, they shall by a vigorous Resistance, subdue them and be saved from their Tyranny, *Zech.* 9. 13, 17. *When the LORD shall bend* Judah *for him and fill the Bow with* Ephraim, *and raise up* Zion's *Sons, against the Sons of* Greece, *and make them as the Sword of a mighty Man, then the Lord shall be seen over them, and his Arrows shall go forth as the Lightening, and he shall blow the Trumpet, he shall defend them, and they shall devour and subdue with Sling-Stones, and the Lord their God shall save them in that Day as the Flock of his People, for they shall be as the Stones of a Crown lifted up, as an Ensign upon his Head.* So it was in their Resistances and Victories against the Successors of *Alexander*, who had the Rule over them for a Time; and so it may be again when the LORD shall so bend his People for him, &c. Hence I argue, *If the LORD promises to fit and Spirit his People for Action against their Oppressing Rulers, and to Crown their Atchievements, when so fitted and spirited, with glorious Success then it is their Duty, and also their Honour to resist them:*

But

But here the Lord promiſes to fit and ſpirit His People for Action againſt their Oppreſſing Rulers, and to Crown their Atchievments, when ſo fitted and ſpirited, with glorious Succeſs. Ergo, *&c.* 13. There are Promiſes, chiefly to be accompliſhed in the later Days, when the LORD ſhall recall and reſtore his Ancient People, that he ſhall make them as his goodly Horſe in the Battle, *Zech.* 10. 5. *&c. When they ſhall be as mighty Men, which tread down their Enemies in the Mire of the Streets in the Battle, and they ſhall fight becauſe the LORD is with them, and the Riders on Horſes ſhall be confounded, and the Pride of* Aſſyria *ſhall be brought down, and the Scepter of* Egypt *ſhall depart away.* Hence I argue, *If the LORD, when he ſhall have Mercy on his People, will bleſs their Reſiſtance, ſo as to bring down the Pride and Scepter of them that had the Supreme Power over them, then in hope of ſuch a Bleſſing, they may attempt ſuch a Duty; but here it is promiſed, that when the LORD ſhall have Mercy on His People, He will bleſs their Reſiſtance ſo as to bring down the Pride and Scepter of them that had the Supreme Power over them.* Ergo, 14. Among the reſt of the Promiſes, which CHRIST gives for the Encouragement of his People, in his Premonitions of what they may expect as their Lot and Condition of Life in this World, and what ſhould be their Carriage and Comfort in their ſeveral Exigencies, there is one thing promiſed, as the conſequent of their Profeſſing the Goſpel, *Matth.* 10. 34, 35. *Think not* ſays he, *that I am come to ſend peace on Earth; I came not to ſend peace, but a Sword, for I am come to ſet a Man at variance, againſt his Father, &c.* Where not only there is a Warning of what is to be expected as the ordinary conſequent of the Goſpel's Profeſſion, by reaſon of the Corruption of Men, and not only is there a Threatening of the Sword of Perſecution and Diviſion againſt and amongſt the People of GOD; but alſo there is a Promiſe of the Defenſive uſe of the Sword, to be granted to them for the Defence of the Goſpel, eſpecially when it ſhould become the Land-Right: For firſt, the Scope and Strain of the Place in all theſe Warnings, is not only to threaten Perſecution, but to encourage againſt it, and to direct them to the uſe of Lawful Means, and Rules of Behaviour in, and under it, and as in the foregoing Warnings, he allows them the Study of Wiſdom, as well as Innocency, *V.* 16. and gives them Caution to beware of Men. *V.* 17. and grants them the Priviledge of flight. *V.* 23. So here in this Warning of War to be expected, and not Peace, it muſt be ſuppoſed, he allows them the common Priviledge of Mankind. 2. From the Rule of Contraries, it muſt be granted, that the Sword here to be feared, is of the ſame Nature with the Peace they expected, but that Peace is reciprocal, and when they have it, they are active in purſuing it; therefore the Sword muſt be reciprocal and, they are to be active in improving it, and not meerly

paſſive

passive in enduring it. 3. The Variance threatened in the next Verse, is to be followed and Prosecuted in the same way that the Sword is in this Verse; but the Variance in the next *V.* is to be mutual, and active on the Christian's part as well as their Enemies (for they are to maintain that Division and Contention-Truth actively) Therefore also the Sword in the former Verse is to be mutually and actively prosecuted.

4. We have also Precepts, from whence we may very consequentially conclude the Approven Duty of Defensive Arms against Oppressing Rulers. As 1. There is a Command given to the *Israelites*, after their being ensnared in the Matter of *Peor*, to vex the Midianites and smite them: *for*, saith the LORD, *they vex you with their Wiles, wherewith they have beguiled you in the Matter of Peor, and in the Matter of Cosbi the Daughter of a Prince of Midian their Sister, which was slain in the Day of the Plague for Peor's sake. Numb.* 25. 17, 18. And they are Commanded, *Numb.* 31. 2. to avenge themselves of the *Midianites*, and for this end to Arm themselves, and to go against them and avenge the LORD of *Midian*; which they executed with the slaughter of all the Males. And afterwards also, by the LORD's Command in the Days of *Gideon*. Whence I argue, *If People must vex their Enemies, and avenge themselves over them by a War Offensive, when ensnared by their Craftiness; much more may they resist them by a War Defensive, when invaded by their Cruelty: But here they are commanded to vex their Enemies, and avenge themselves over them by a War Offensive, when ensnared by their Craftiness, and that upon a Moral Ground.* Ergo, &c. 2. There is a Command, in case of the Apostacy of any City or Party into Idolatry, and if it should be heard among the People of GOD, that certain Children of *Belial* are gone out from among them, and have withdrawn the Inhabitants of the City, saying, *let us go and serve other Gods*, then they must enquire and make search and ask Diligently, *and behold if it be Truth, and the thing certain, that such Abomination is wrought among them; then they shall surely Smite the Inhabitants of that City with the Edge of the Sword, destroying it utterly. Deut.* 13. 12, 13. And upon this Moral Ground was *Israel's* War stated against prevailing *Benjamin*, *Jud.* 20. when there was no King. And also when there were Kings that turned Idolaters and Tyrants, they Served them so, as here is Commanded, Witness *Amaziah* (as is shewed above.) Hence I argue, *If People are to bring to Condign Punishment Idolatrous Apostates, seeking to Entice them; then also much more they ought to resist such Tyrants, as seek to Obtrude upon People, and inforce them to the same Apostacy. But here People are Commanded to bring to condign Punishment Idolatrous Apostates, seeking to Entice them.* Ergo, &c. 3. There is a Precept given, not only to defend, but also to relieve and deliver our Brother when in hazard; for omitting

which Duty, no pretence, even of Ignorance, will Excuse it. *Prov.* 24. 11. 12. *If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto Death, and those that are ready to be slain. If thou sayest, behold we know it not; doth not he that Pondereth the Heart consider it? And he that keepeth thy Soul, doth not He know it? And shall not he render to every Man according to his Works.* This Precept is indefinitely given to all, principally indeed belonging to Righteous Magistrates; but in case of their Omission, and if in stead of defending them, they be the Persons that draw them to Death, then this Precept is no more to be restricted to them, than that in the 1. Vers. not to be invious against Evil Men; or that in Vers. 10. If thou Faint in the Day of Adversity thy strength is small. Hence I argue, *If it be a Duty to rescue our perishing Brethren, from any prevailing Power that would take their Lives unjustly, and no Pretence even of Ignorance will Excuse the forbearance of it; then much more is it a Duty, to Defend them and our selves both, against their Murdering Violation; but here it is Commanded as a Duty, to rescue our Brethren from any prevailing Power that would take their Lives unjustly, and no pretence, even of Ignorance, will Excuse the forbearance of it.* Ergo, &c. 4. There is a Precept for reforming the Courts of Kings, with a Promise that if this be done, it shall tend to the Establishment of their Throne; which is not only a Supposition in case it be done, but a supposed Precept to do it, with an Information of the necessity and Expediency of it, that it is as suitable as the taking away of the Dross from Silver, in order to the Production of a Vessel. *Prov.* 25. 5. *Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be Established in Righteousness.* Whence I argue; *If it be a Duty to reform the Court, and to take away a King's Wicked Sycophant Counsellors, Agents and Instigators to Tyranny; then also it is a Duty to refrain their Insolency, and to repress their Tyranny: But here it is Commanded as a Duty to reform the Court, and to take away a King's wicked Sycophant Counsellors, Agents and Instigators to Tyranny* Ergo, *also it is a Duty, to restrain their Insolency and Tyranny, and consequently to resist them.* 5. There is a Precept given to a humbled People, that have groaned long under the Yoke of Tyranny and Oppression, enjoyning them as a Proof of their sincerity in Humiliation, to bestir themselves in shaking off these Evils they had procured by their Sins. *Isa.* 58. 6. *Is not this the Fast that I have chosen, to loose the Bands of Wickedness, to undo the heavy Burdens, and to let the Oppressed go free, and that ye break every Yoke? is it not to deal thy bread to the Hungry, and to bring the poor that is cast out, to thy House, &c.?* Which are all good Works of Justice and Mercy, and which are more acceptable to GOD than High-Flown pretences of Humiliation, under a stupid Submission, and hanging down the Head as a Bulrush. If it be cavilled, 1. That these are Spiritual Bands and Yokes, that are

here Commanded to be loosed and broken. For Answer, I grant that is the great duty of a People humbling themselves before the LORD, *to break off their Sins by Righteousness, and their Iniquity by shewing Mercy to the Poor. Dan. 4. 27.* But that this is the only Duty I deny, or that this is the Genuine and only Sense of this Place, cannot be proved or approved by the Scope, which is to Press them to those Duties they omitted, whereby the poor oppressed People of GOD, might be freed from the Yokes of them that made them to howl, and to bring them to the Conviction of these Sins, for which the LORD was contending with them, whereof this was one, *that they Exacted all their Labours, on things wherewith others were grieved*, as the Margent Reads, or suffered the poor so to be Oppressed. 2. If it be alledged, That this is the Duty proper to Rulers, to relieve the oppressed, &c. I answer, it is so; yet most commonly they are the Oppressors themselves, and cast out the Poor, which others must take into their Houses. But the Duty here is pressed upon all the People, whose sins are here cryed out against, *Vers.* 1. Upon all who *Professed the Service of GOD, and asked the Ordinances of Justice. Vers.* 2. Upon all *who were Fasting and Humbling themselves, and complained they had no Success. Vers.* 3. The Reasons whereof, the LORD discovers, *Vers.* 4, 5. whereof this was one, *That they did not loose these Bands, nor break these Yokes, nor relieved the Oppressed*; and these Works of Justice *Vers.* 6. are pressed upon the same Persons, that the Works of Mercy are pressed upon. *Vers.* 7. sure these are not all nor only Rulers. Hence I argue, *If it be acceptable to GOD for a Mourning People to relieve the Oppressed, and to break the Yoke of Oppressors, then it is their Duty to use the most effectual Means, which are Defensive Arms. But here it is Commanded, as acceptable to GOD for a Mourning People, to relieve the Oppressed, and to breake the Yoke of the Oppressors.* (No Mention or Matter who they be, Rulers, or others) Ergo, &c. 6. There is a Command for a Spoiled and Oppressed People, when the LORD is reconciled to them, and in his Sympathy Reckons, what wrong is done to them, as done to himself, and puts them in capacity to deliver themselves from their Rulers Servitude, *Zech. 2. 7. Deliver thy self, O Zion! that dwellest with the Daughter of* Babylon, which Comprehends all the Ordinary Active means of People's delivering themselves from the Oppressing Powers that Rule over them, and consequently Defensive Resistance, for it cannot only be restricted to flight, tho' that is included, *Vers.* 6. but the Promise annexed *Vers.* 9. imports more than only delivering themselves by Flight, when they that spoiled them shall be a spoil to their Servants; whereby it is insinuated that they were so to deliver themselves, as not only to free themselves from their Servitude, but to bring their Masters under Subjection. Whence it may be argued, *If*

the LORD's *People being Subject to higher Powers Ruling over them for the Time, may deliver themselves from their Oppressing Masters. Then may they resist them and defend themselves: But here the* LORD's *People being Subject to higher Powers Ruling over them for the Time, are Commanded to deliver themselves from their Oppressing Masters (and for their Encouragement, have a Promise of making them their Servants.)* Ergo, &c. 7. There is a Command given by CHRIST to His Disciples, to provide themselves with Defensive Weapons, necessary for their Defence against them that would Pursue after their Lives, as well as with other things necessary for their Subsistance. Luke 22. 36. *Then said He unto them,* &c. *But now, he that hath a Purse let him take it, and likewise his Scrip, and he that hath no Sword, let him sell his Garment and Buy one.* Before, when He had set them out upon an Extraordinary Commission, as it were to Serve their Apprentiship in the Work of the Gospel, he did not allow them such Solicitous care to Provide themselves with things necessary, because he would give them a Proof of his sufficiency to sustain and protect them without means, but now, when he was about to withdraw his Bodily Presence from them, and would warn them of the Discouragements they were to expect in the Prosecution of their more-continued Work, that they had a Commission for, which was not to be retracted; He would not have them to expect Provision and Protection by a Course of Miracles; but to provide themselves with Means for their Sustenance, and also for their Defence against the Violence of Men, which chiefly was to be expected from Rulers, who would persecute them, under the Notion of Transgressors of the Laws of their Kingdoms and Countries. He was not indeed to make much Use of them at that Time for himself, who was then to finish the Work of Redemption by Sufferings, only that what was written might be accomplished in him, he would make so much Use of them, as voluntarily to be involved under the Censure and Reproach of Rebellion, being taken among Men in Arms, that he might be reckoned among Transgressors. V. 37. Therefore when they told him they had two Swords, he said, *It is enough.* V. 38. I need not stand upon that ignorant, ridiculous Impertinency of a Conceit, that these were *Spiritual Swords*, which deserves no Confutation, being fitter to be put among Quakers delirious Distractions, than to be numbred among the Notions of Men of Understanding; for then the Purse and Scrip must be spiritual too; and these Spiritual Things must be bought by selling of Garments, and they would be such Spiritual Tools as would have a sharp Edge, for cutting of carnal Ears, and such as be both visible and sensible, and two of them would be enough. They were then ordinary material Swords, which the LORD commands his Followers to provide

provide themselves with for their Defence, as Men, in Case of Necessity, and when they should be in a Capacity to improve them against their murdering Persecutors, against whom he gives his Royal Grant of Resistance, that the World may know, his Subjects, tho' they have more Priviledges Spiritual; yet they have no less humane Priviledges than other Men, albeit at that Period of his determinate Sufferings, he would not allow the Use of them. Hence I argue, *If the LORD's People should provide themselves with Arms of Defence, though they should be reputed Transgressors for so doing; then may they use these Arms of Defence against them that prosecute them under that Notion: But by this Command, the LORD's People must provide themselves with Arms of Defence, though they should be reputed Transgressors for their so doing*, Ergo, &c.

5. We may infer the same Truth from many Prayers of the Saints, wherein they glory in the confident Expectation of the LORD's Strengthening them, and favouring and approving their Helpers, and in the Experience of the LORD's assisting them, with all imprecating Destruction to their oppressing Rulers, and all this, while they were constitute in a formed Appearance of Resistance against them. I shall only hint at some Instances. 1. In that Prayer, *Psa.* 44. They encouraged themselves in the Remembrance of former Favours GOD had vouchafed upon their Fathers, to pray in Faith, that the *LORD might command Deliverance for Jacob*; and in Confidence of that, V. 5. they glory in Hope, *That through him they will push down their Enemies, and through his Name tread them under that rise up against them*; yet now they were under the Power of Tyrannizing Dominations, which they were resisting: For, V. 9. they complain, *They were put to Shame, because the LORD went not forth with their Armies, and they which hated them spoiled them, and they were made a Reproach to their Neighbours, and for his sake were killed all day long, and counted as Sheep for the Slaughter*: Hence they are fervent in pleading, *That the LORD would awake and arise for their Help, and not forget their Affliction and Oppression*; whereby it is evident, they were under the Yoke of tyrannizing Powers, and resisting them according to their Might, which by whomsoever, or upon what Occasion soever the Psalm was compiled, shews that no Want of Success in resisting Tyrants can mar the Saints Faith, in pleading for the LORD's Assistance and Approbation of the Duty; but if it was *David*'s (as the Title so ordinarily would seem not obscurely to import) it adds greater Strength to the Argument; for it could not be while he was King. No Instance can be given in all his History, of the LORD's People being reduced to such a Misery, as is here complained of, during that Time; therefore it must have a Relation to that Time, when he with others of the Godly were under *Saul*'s

Tyranny

Tyranny, againſt whom, he with others were maintaining a ſtated Reſiſtance; tho' it came not to an active bloody Engagement; yet on *David's* Part it was an hoſtile Defenſive Appearance, and a declared Reſiſtance; for he had an Army of 600 Men, whoſe Captain he was in that Expedition. Hence I argue. *They that in Faith may pray for, and boaſt of their treading down the Tyrannizing Powers, that riſe up againſt them, may alſo in Faith attempt the reſiſting of them in their own defence; But here the LORD's People did in Faith pray for, and boaſt of their treading down the Tyrannizing Powers, that roſe up againſt them.* Ergo, &c. 2. When in Purſuite of this reſolved Endeavour of ſelf Preſervation, *David* and his Men, being in Number 600, had eſcaped from *Keilah*, they abode in the Wilderneſs of *Ziph*, of which the *Ziphites* informed the Tyrant; but the LORD diverted his Fury by the Invaſion of the *Philiſtines*, 1 *Sam.* 23. Afterwards they informed him of *David's* hiding in *Hachilah*, whither when he came, the LORD indeed did offer an Opportunity to *David* to revenge himſelf upon him, when he found him ſleeping within the Trench, and his Spear ſtuck in the Ground at his Bolſter; but *David* having a tender Reſpect to him, as being *the LORD's Anointed*, in which Character he yet apprehended a reſident Majeſty (though by this Time he had *de Jure* forefaulted it) and having a particular Promiſe and Aſſurance, that the LORD would deliver him at length from his Tyranny, did not find it his Duty, to aſſaſſinate him in a private Way, upon a private Quarrel; but reſolved only to keep himſelf out of his Hands, 1 *Sam.* 26. Chap. Yet then in the Pſalm, which he compoſed upon that Occaſion, he not only complains, that *Oppreſſors ſought after his Soul*, but encourages himſelf in the Faith, that GOD would be with them that aſſiſted him in his Eſſay of defending himſelf, *Pſa.* 54. 4. *Behold GOD is mine Helper, the LORD is with them that uphold my Soul*, and imprecates Deſtruction to *Saul* and his Complices, V. 5. *Cut them of in thy Truth*; and triumphs in the Confidence that he ſhould ſee his Deſire upon them, V. laſt. As alſo in Pſal. 57. where he calls them *Lions ſet on Fire, whoſe Teeth are Spears and Arrows*, V. 4. And *Pſal.* 59. where he complains, That *the mighty were gathered againſt him, not for his Tranſgreſſion nor Sin, and made a Noiſe like a Dog, and went round about the City*; And prays, That they might *be ſcatter'd and brought down and conſumed*; a Prayer which would be accounted rank Treaſon now a-days; yet clear it is from the Title, that it was againſt *Saul* and his Complices. Hence I argue, *If the LORD's People conflicting with and incompaſſed by oppreſſing Rulers, as ſo many Lions and Dogs, may pray, and praiſe for the Help of thoſe that aſſiſt them in their Preſervation againſt them; then may they make uſe of their Help for their Defence, for which they may pray and praiſe: But here we ſee the LORD's People, conflicting with, and encompaſſed*

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by oppreſſing Rulers, as ſo many Lions and Dogs, may pray and praiſe for the Help of thoſe, that aſſiſt them in their Preſervation againſt them. Ergo, &c. 3. Upon Occaſion of *Doeg*'s Information againſt him, and the Plots and Troubles projected, and raiſed thereupon, he prays not only againſt him; but *Saul* alſo, That the LORD would deliver, preſerve and keep him from their Hands, and that in Confidence of the LORD's experienced Strength, *who had covered his Head in the Day of Battel*, Pſal. 140. 7. And expreſly againſt *Saul* he imprecates V. 9. *As for the Head of thoſe that compaſs me about, let the Miſchief of their own Lips cover them.* Certain it is, the Head of them was *Saul*: Whence I argue, *If we may pray againſt Kings, and for Preſervation from them; then may we defend our ſelves againſt them, and Endeavour the Means of that Preſervation, for which we pray.* The Connection, however it may ſeem a Paradox to ſome, it will appear, if we conſider, that that which will give a Diſpenſation from our Duty of praying for them, will alſo diſpenſe from the Duty of being paſſively ſubject to their Will; and conſequently will allow defending our ſelves from their Violence: But here we ſee Tyranny and Treachery, and deſigned Miſchief will give a Diſpenſation from our Duty of praying for them, tho' that be a Duty as indiſpenſable as Subjection. Again if any thing demur us from reſiſting of Princes, it muſt be Reſpect to their Majeſty, and the Character of the *LORD's Anointing* upon them: But we ſee, no Reſpect to that will demur a Believer from praying in Faith againſt them. Therefore no ſuch Reſpect will hinder, but that he may defend himſelf againſt their Violence. And indeed if we conſider it right, if the Impreſſion of any Majeſty, GOD hath put upon Princes, ſhould bind up our Hands from any Reſiſtance, it will reſtrain from Prayer-Reſiſtance. For if that Impreſſion have any Force at any Time, it muſt be when a Man is moſt ſolemnly ſtated before GOD, and ſpeaking to GOD, acting as a Chriſtian, rather than when a Man is acting as a Man, with a Man like himſelf: And as Prayer-Reſiſtance is the more formidable and forcible Reſiſtance than any other (as this *Saul* and many other Kings have found the Force of it, by their woful Experience) ſo it is more reſtricted than any other Reſiſtance; for we may defend our ſelves againſt many, whom we muſt not pray againſt, *viz.* our private Enemies, for whom we are commanded to pray; yet no Body will deny, but we may reſiſt their Violence. And likewiſe we are commanded to pray for Kings, when inveſted with, and improving their Authority for GOD; in which Caſe we are not to reſiſt them any way. But when their Degeneration looſes us from that Obligation to pray for them, and allows us to pray againſt them, when they turn Enemies to GOD (as we ſee in this Prayer of the Pſalmiſt's) then alſo we may more warrantably reſiſt them by defen-

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five Arms. 4. Among the HALLELUJAHS in the End of the *Psalms*, there is one calculate for a Triumphant State of the Church, though relating to Time, when she is militant, but prevailing; when the LORD is taking Pleasure in his People, and beautifying the Meek with Salvation. In that Time of the Saints being joyful in Glory, and singing aloud upon their Beds, when they may glory in the Rest and Security the LORD will vouchsafe upon them, they are very pathetically and prophetically excited to Praise Prayer-wise, *Psal.* 149. 6. to the End *Let the high Praises of GOD be in their Mouths, and a two edged Sword in their Hand, to execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, and Punishments upon the People; to bind their Kings with Chains, and their Nobles with Fetters of Iron. To execute upon them the Judgment written. This Honour have all his Saints. Hallelujah.* This was their Praise and Honour, when they were brought in to execute Vengeance upon their Kings and Nobles of *Canaan*. This also in *David*'s Time was the Ambition and Attainment of the Saints, in their triumphant Victories over many of their Oppressors round about them. But it looks to a further and more famous Execution of Vengeance upon the Powers of the Earth; when they shall have long kept under the Church of GOD, and at length the LORD shall give his People a Capacity to break their Yoke; which when ever it shall be, shall be their Honour. Hence I argue, *If it be the Honour of the Saints, when the LORD puts them in Capacity to execute Vengeance upon their Enemies, tho' they be Kings that oppress them; Then it may be their Ambition to seek that Honour, that at least they may resist them: But it is the Honour of all the Saints, when the LORD puts them in Capacity to execute Vengeance upon their Enemies, though they be Kings that oppress them.* Ergo, *It may be their Ambition to seek that Honour that at least they may resist them.* And thus I have endeavoured, to make my Offer good, to prove the Lawfulness of resisting the Sovereign Powers, that have the Rule of a Nation, from several Scriptures, from which tho' other precious Truths may be deduced; yet this Truth by unstrained, and unconstrained Consequence, may also be clearly inferred.

The Account of my Tryal before the Justiciary, August 6th, 1685.

MY present Pressures and Perplexities (not unknown to Friends concerned) do incapacitat me to give any perfect or satisfactory Account of the Progress of this my last Prosecution; The Conduct of it was so intricate, that I cannot relate all things, and the Product of it so uncertain, and unsavoury to many, that I cannot signifie any thing at this Time to the clearing of it, and undeceiving People about it. Only it will be necessary for the behoof of some, to give some *Narration* of it; which though it cannot be capable of such a Representation as may be necessary for my Vindication, and my dearest Friends

Satisfaction

Satisfaction (who are the Friends of CHRIST who by Grace are preſerved in the greateſt Degree of Faithfulneſs in this declining Day) yet I think it incumbent upon me, for their Information, to offer a true, ſincere and impartial Declaration of it, not for juſtifying every thing I have done, but to impart to all the Fearers of the LORD, how much he hath in his Mercy, Wiſdom, and Faithfulneſs done for me, and how little I could ſay or do for Him or his Intereſts in this Tryal, which called for a Teſtimony of my Hands, that (alas!) I could not give; and in this to aſcribe to Him the Glory of His Wiſdom and Goodneſs and take to my ſelf the Shame of my Folly, Faintneſs and unfaithfulneſs. I could never enough Admire the Almighty's wonderful interpoſure in the Nick of my extreme Hazard, at the beginning of this Current Parliament, diverting the fury of thoſe that ſought my Life, by protracting it all this Time until now; when the Appearance of ſome of my Comrads before the Council brought my Name and caſe to remembrance again, whereupon Order was given to Indict me for maintaining, *That it is Lawful for Subjects upon pretence of Reformation, or any pretence whatſoever to enter into Leagues and Covenants, or to take up Arms againſt the King, or thoſe Commiſſionate by him, or to put Limitations upon their due Obedience and Allegiance*, &c. And *for diſowning the King's Authority, and for owning, or refuſing to diſown the late Declaration Affixed upon ſeveral Pariſh Churches, IN SO FAR AS it declares War againſt the King, and Aſſerts it Lawful to Kill ſuch as Serve him.* &c.

Theſe wonderful Diſpenſations of Providence towards me, working me up to a reſolved Submiſſion, not only with content but with Complacency to leave the World at this Time, and the Honourable Veneration I ever had and have for theſe Truths hereby traduced, did oblige me to reſolve upon Suffering, and to State it upon ſuch Heads as are here charged upon me. And accordingly I deſired to make an Offer of my ſelf, if the LORD would think me worthy of ſuch an Honour; (but I ſee he will not have every Body) to reſiſt unto my deareſt Blood for a Teſtimony unto theſe Truths. But the LORD who ſaw my unfitneſs to die as a Martyr, of which I can ſay I was Ambitious, did alſo Determine me to try how to prevent my Murder, and to find out Means to diſcover it, if it ſhould be unavoidable, ſo as that it ſhould be manifeſt to the Conviction of the World, even from the Laws now Current. In Obſervance of which (tho' miſchievouſly enough contrived) I knew they could not take my Life. I was always of the Mind that a Chriſtian having to do with ſuch as *ly in wait for Blood*, and yet dare not avouch it openly, but pretend Forms of Law, ſhould prove himſelf a Man and plead for all Humane Priviledges and Legal Defences, to the end he may make it evident, they muſt Streach Law, even their own Law before

they can reach him. I do not say it can be always so, neither will I take upon me to Censure those that do not so; nor justifie what I have endeavoured of that kind: Nay, *Let the Righteous rebuke me, and it shall be as Oyl to mine Head.* Only I would let my Friends know that I was determined to use this Method, because I expected to be Martyr'd and I was resolved to make it appear to the World that I was most Illegally Murdered.

Upon which Consideration, when I received my Indictment I wrote a Letter to the King's Advocat, Representing, *That my Condition was never of that significancy as to deserve his Wrath, and now brought to that Pass, as was not unworthy of his Patrocony, at least of Pity. That my Condition being so mean, my Thoughts of things were always proportioned to it, never exercised in great Matters, nor in things too high for me,* Psal. 131. *That it is no small Wonder, how any Thoughts or Sayings of mine should be repute of that Consequence, as to be thought worthy to be the Object either of their noticing or Indignation. But such as they are, they are the Dictates of Conscience, which being the only Interest and Liberty I have in the World, I must desire to Entertain till I get a better; that to preserve this void of Offence, I left my Native Country and Travelled somewhat in the World, and that if it had not been out of respect to Conscience, I needed not to have seen* Scotland *at this Time; for after I was Bailed out upon a Bond to Answer, and might have eluded the Bond by paying the Penalty, I durst not break the Obligation; That I was sent to* Scotland *upon a Charge of High-Treason, which upon Tryal he knew the Amount of, that it was not for any Plot or overt-Act against any Law, only because I could not think as the Law required and would fain have declined a Declaration of my Thoughts: That was my first Fault (if any) and when in prospect of the Danger of my Life then threatened for it, I satisfied the Law, Yet upon an after Review I was made to think that I had strained Conscience, as Providence did afterwards discover by my intercepted Letter, which in plain Honest Hearted Ingenuity I did own before them several Times, and therefore desiring him not to take Advantage against me from that, nor Prosecute me to the Forfeiture of my Life, because I cannot consent to the implicit abandoning of my Conscience to which I am a Prisoner, as well as for it, and to consider if this be a Crime not to be expiated, but by my Blood, and ponder these things in the Sight of GOD,* &c. And in the Postscript I desired to speak with him in private where, and when he should appoint.

Besides this thinking that Sir *William Paterson* my Old Regent at the Colledge had some influence upon such of the Justiciary as are Members of Council, I accosted him likewise with another Letter, Representing, *That I had a very grateful Sense of his former Favours, which made me bold to beg a new Proof of his Kindness, that my despicable inconsiderableness was not unworthy to his Honour, being his Disciple sometime, which as it gave*

me the hope of his favourable Construction, so did it make it strange how I could be reputed of such worth as to be the Object either of the Cognizance or Indignation of the Supreme Courts of the Nation, especially for my Opinions, whereby I could never be supposed to be in any capacity to hurt any Body but my self (if they were hurtful) that tho' I had Travelled somewhat in the World, yet I never incurred such a Censure for Words or Actions, Opinion or Practice, as that I was such an unsociable little Animal as deserved to be Exterminated out of the World for them; that my Charge was only because my Young Eyes could not see with those Spectacles that the Law Prescribes. That the declining to give my Judgment of things was Offensive at first, and then declaring of it when Extorted was also displeasing; first for not satisfying the Law, I was severely Threatened, and then when Providence did discover my Resentment of that, I am now Staged, for not having satisfied my self; and desiring him to consider seriously these things, and that there were many ways to break an Egg without an Ax. That he would therefore use means, either to stop the Prosecution, or for the Mitigation of the Sentence, &c.

I believe these Letters did somewhat allay their fury, for I understand they were Communicated to severals of the Lords. But again reflecting that the chief thing that would Straiten me would be the Oath of *Abjuration*, I thought upon some Draught of my Sentiments about the Matter of it, in the general to Represent, to them for my own Exoneration, that I might not be thought to maintain any Murdering Principles, and if it might stop their Mouth, which when I delivered I found had some such Effect, the Tenor of it was as follows.

The Sincere Sentiments of my Mind about the Declaration lately affixed on several Churches on which I am Indicted are,

'1. I do Disown and Abhore all War of Subjects professedly declared 'against a Lawful King as such, all War against Lawful Authority, all War without Authority, or indeclinable Necessity; all 'War founded, or designed for maintaining Principles inconsistent with 'Policy or Piety; all War declared in that sense related in the Proclamation about the Declaration, or which may bear these Inferences therein specified. 2. I do Disown not only all such Assertions but all such 'Thoughts as that it is Lawful to Kill all such as Serve the King, or any 'Man because they serve him, or because they differ from us in Judgement or Profession, or because they have injured us any manner of way. 'I abhore all Assertions of the Lawfulness of Assassinations, Murders or 'any private Killing or Slaying under Colour of Law, or without it upon 'any pretence, or for any cause whatsoever of Usurped Power, Revenge, 'Rage, or *Enthusiastical* impulse, as being against Christianity and Humanity. 3. I do disown my having any Hand, or being art and part in 'that pretended Declaration directly or indirectly, by my Concurrence,

'Contrivance, Counsel, Knowledge or Connivance, or any manner of 'way, and I disown all Intentions for my own part to Prosecute or Per-'secute or endeavour to punish any that have served the King in any ca-'pacity because they have injured me, even though my greatest Ene-'mies but do think my self obliged in Christian Duty to Pray for all 'my Enemies, and bless them, and do all Offices of Kindness to them. '4. But yet I humbly and conscientiously demur to take that Oath for 'some private Reasons. 1. Because I look upon it as an Oath imposed 'upon a severe Penalty which whatever be the Matter of the Oath, is 'a thing I have no clearness for at present. 2. Because I humbly con-'ceive it misrepresents the Declaration it self, wherein I am not clear 'that such things are Asserted. 3. Because whatever be my own Thoughts 'of the thing, I dare not pass a Judgment on the Deed of others so So-'lemnly, or to take upon me to Censure or Condemn them, or justifie 'any Severity exercised upon some Presbyterians who cannot or dare not 'disown it. This I Subscribed & kept in readiness against the Day of my Ap-pearance, supposing that possibly I should not be permitted to speak so much.

In the Morning of that Day, of my Tryal I was taken out alone by a Macer, to speak with the Advocat, I expected it was for a private Conference with him, but when I came to the Place (which was the ordinary Place of the Criminal-Court (I found all the Lords of the whole Justiciary present, who after a little delay Calling and Inrolling the Assize, did call me before them. Then told me I had got extraordinary Favours shewed me, and that they were never at such Pains and Trouble about any Man to keep him from a Tryal as they were about me. I answered, I was ready to acknowledge all Favours; that if they were troubled about me it was not my Fault. That I never was nor would be Troublesome to the World, if they would let me alone. They Replyed, *That they were very tender of me, and out of Tenderness and Compassion they did what could be done to save me from coming before the Parliament.* I answered, I wished I had gone before the Parliament; for I expected Favour from them, and could not think they would take away my Life upon such slender Grounds. They Replyed, *They would as certainly have hanged you as ever a Man was, and intended to have made a Publick Example of you; And now* said they, *take heed to your self, and do not throw away your Life.* No, said I, my Lords, I do not intend to throw it away, I got it to keep till He who gave it call for it, and if he do at this Time, as I have been Threatened, I have endeavoured to make my self ready to lay it down. They Replyed, *We thought you had more Understanding than to Die like a Fool for Nicities and quibles.* I answered, I had a Conscience that would not let me live like a Knave, and withal that I thought they had more Justice than to take my Life for

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Nicities. They Protested, *They would be free of my Blood, and did not desire my Life. Then we fell to Speak about Conscience,* and I said several things about it, that it was a tender thing, and the greatest Interest that a Man hath in the World, and not implicitely to be Subjected to any Creature, it being the LORD's Prerogative to be Law-giver to it, that it should be informed and corrected, and not imposed upon. That it is GOD's immediate Deputy not answerable to any Courts among Creatures, that I was a Prisoner to it, as well as for it. That it was very hard and odious among Christians and Protestants, to take away a Man's Life for it. That were more suitable where the Inquisition is the design of these Methods, where no mean of Information is used must be to debauch it or destroy it. They were very Angry at my Language, yet said, *they were very inclinable to Pity me.* I cannot tell if it was immediately after this; but I remember, *Colingtoun* was much incensed and enraged against me, and told me, I deserved no Pity, and fell to Aggravate my Crime, *That I was a Turbulent Pestilent Fellow, a perverter of others, and spreader of Rebellious Principles, an Owner of, and Converser with Murderers; that I wrote Letters to* John Balfour *the Murderer of the late Arch-Bishop of St.* Andrews: At which the rest hushed, as if they had not desired to insist upon that, then he held his Peace. I said nothing to all this. Then they told me, the *Terms upon which I was to save my Life this Day were, that I must take the Oath of Abjuration, and own, that King* James *the 7th was my Lawful King and Sovereign.* I answered, that if they were not content with what I had said on these Heads already, I could not give them any further satisfaction, that I had used all Ingenuity before them about these things, and more then I needed, and if it were to do again, possibly they should not know so much of my mind; and that I hoped they would not make such use of it against me. Then the Oath of Abjuration was tendered, I told them how I had satisfied them once already about it; and now because Providence discovered that I could not satisfie my self, in that I must be threatened with Death. They Replyed *That I tore my Name from it, and so produced the Paper.* I answered, I did that at your Lordships Command. Some said, *That was deep Policy in a jeering way.* I answered, I was no great Politician, and if they Hang me for a Plotter, they would be far in the wrong to me. So they went to urge the Oath again. And to give Reasons of my refusal, I told them of the deep Wound it had given to my Conscience, and how I was over-perswaded to it through feat of Death and other Carnal Motives, but now I fear the like Torture in a Relapse more than Death. Then I repeated the Reasons in the abovementioned Draught. Then I was asked, *If I would not Vindicate my self from dying for, and being reputed an Owner of such Murdering Prin-*

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ples, *Destructive to all Humane Society*? I answered, I would, so far as I could, and thereupon I delivered the foresaid Draught of the sincere *Sentiments* of my Mind about it, which the Clerk was Ordered to Read, and they themselves passed it from Hand to Hand, and declared, *they were Good things in the General; and that I maintained Good enough General Principles, but that I drew bad Conclusions from such Premisses always.* I answered, that behoved to be, because I was a bad Logician, I hoped they would not Hang me for that. They Smiled at this, then passed on to the Question *about Authority*, I answered after the common manner, I owned all lawful Authority according to the Word of GOD. They replyed, *I still harped upon Generals; but when it came to particulars, they found me out.* So urged, *If I would own the just and lawful Authority of King James the 7th.* I answered, I owned all the Particulars that are contained in Generals. Well then, said they, you own the lawful Authority of this present King. I answered, if it be lawful Authority, I own it, they were very Angry at that, and said, *I did nothing but consume Time with my quibbles, and what was I to question the King's Authority.* I answered, it was they that questioned it, for I purposed not to Question it, and I would tell them how far I would own it, I owned his Lineal and Legal Succession, as being next in Blood and Line, I owned his Providential Advancement to the Throne, I owned as much I thought did oblige me to all the Duties of Christian Subjection, more I could not say. They told me, *I must say more, or else die*, and so dismissed me, and the Macer carried me out to the Utter-House among the Pannels, where I stayed sometime.

My Second Conference.

THen they called me in again, and told me, *if I had a mind to be saved, they would save me.* I answered, I had a good mind to be saved, if it could consist with a safe Conscience, they told me, *now was the Hour, and if I did not something for their Satisfaction, now, I might expect the worst of it.* I answered, I knew the worst of it, which would be little hurt to me, and far less profit to them; and so began to Exhort them to ponder the danger of Innocent Blood; I being charged with no *Fact* or *Overt Act*, but only for Matters of *Opinion*, several things I said there, which I cannot particularly remember, it being for the Substance contained in the Letters above rehearsed. I got a reply, *That the declaring and maintaining such Opinions, as these were, declared high Treason by Act of Parliament.* I answered, that if I had known that, may be, I would not have declared them; and that it is a hard Matter, first to be forced to tell out Thoughts, and then to be Hanged for it. The Advocate replyed, *That the Matters I was questioned upon were such as every Person was obliged to give an account of his Thoughts, as being Matters that concern the whole Community, every Man must own the Government where he*

Lives

Lives, and diſown Principles and Practices, Deſtructive of all Government, that if I mentioned theſe things, I would not be ſuffered to live in any Kingdom under Heaven. I anſwered, I have been in ſeveral Kingdoms of the World, where I could have lived peaceably, and yet was never queſtioned about theſe things; neither do I believe there is any *Kingdom* or *Common-Wealth* on Earth, that would put ſuch Queſtions to their Subjects or Strangers; and that the moving them to many poor People in this Kingdom, was a great Cauſe why it is ſo much queſtioned, and doubted by People, who would never have enquired into it elſe. *Well but*, ſaid they, *what do you ſay to it now, will you own the King to be you Lawful Sovereign, or not?* I anſwered, I adhere to my former Anſwers. *Do you adhere*, ſaid they, *to your own former Confeſſions ſubſcribed by your own Hand?* I anſwered, Yes, I muſt adhere to them; but I think they cannot legally be made Uſe of for my Conviction, ſuch a Probation I judge it very ſtrange, that they made Uſe of againſt me, when I was commanded to ſign my Confeſſions, which I complied with very *unadviſedly*, and yet that they ſhould take ſuch Advantage againſt me as to make Uſe of it for my Condemnation, that a Man's *Ingenuity* declaring his preſent *Thoughts* of things, when extorted, ſhould be made an Ingine for his Deſtruction, is very ſtrange. They told me, *by my own Words I muſt be juſtified and condemned, and that if I would now anſwer diſcreetly and ſatisfyingly, they would paſs from all by-gone Confeſſions, and every thing.* I told them, I would anſwer as well as I could plainly and ingenuouſly. They ſaid, *I was always too plain.* Now, ſaid they, *What ſay you to the King's Authoritie?* I anſwered, I could ſay little more to it than what I had ſaid already. I have not denied his Authority; but do own it as much as any Man in my Capacity is obliged to own him. I own all Subjection to him *in the LORD.* *So*, ſaid they, *he can never hold of his Diſtinctions.* I anſwered, My Lords, I muſt needs ſay ſome thing for the Exoneration of my own Conſcience, as well as for your Satisfaction. I cannot own all Authority ſimply. They replied, *We do not bid you own all Authority, but King* James *the 7th his lawful Authority.* I anſwered, I own Subjection to it. *Ho*, ſaid ſome of them, *there is another Diſtinction, he owns Subjection to him, but not Allegiance.* I anſwered, Theſe are not one, and muſt be diſtinguiſhed. I cannot own Allegiance in the Terms it is impoſed. It was urged by ſome, *Will not you own the Apoſtle's Doctrine*, Rom. 13. *To be ſubject to the higher Powers, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience-ſake?* I anſwered, Yes: Where the Powers are ſuch as he there ſpeaks of. I cannot ſay, All Powers are ordained of GOD by his PRECEPTIVE WILL, tho' they are all ordained by his PROVIDENTIAL WILL. I think it enough for me to own Subjection to theſe *in the LORD.* Said they, *What do you call Subjection? Do not you own King* James *7th. to be your King?* I anſweted, I own him to be King.

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But ſaid they, *Is he not your lawful King and Sovereign*? I anſwered, It was all one to me, whether he be Lawful, or not; I muſt be ſubject, ſince Providence hath ſet him up. *Ow*, ſaid they, *That is very lax*. I ſaid, I hoped, they would not hang me for my Laxneſs: But, ſaid they, *Is he not a Lawful King*? I anſwered, I have owned already, That I think he is as Lawful as *Providence*, and Legal or *Linial Succeſſion*, can make him. Well ſaid they, *What needs more, ſince that you own him to be your lawful King*? I anſwered, In that Senſe I own it. They replied, *We will have nothing to do with Senſes, ſay the Words*. My Lords, ſaid I, I cannot ſay Words without a *Senſe*, and eſpecially ſuch Words as are capable of another *Senſe*, without explaining them. They asked, *What was that*? I anſwered, It muſt be thought, that I owned he was lawful by GOD's *Approbation*, That I cannot ſay; for ſometimes he may charge a Nation with that, *Ye have ſet up Kings, and not by Me, and Princes, and I knew it not*: And beſides, ſaid I, I ſtick in it; becauſe of ſome Old Laws, againſt the Succeſſion of Papiſts, and becauſe according to our Covenant Engagements, we are to own them only in Terms conſiſtent with the Security of Religion and Liberty. They ſtormed at this; yet the Advocate replied ſoberly, *That as for the the Old Laws, they were all reſcinded at the laſt Parliament, wherein the preſent King was Commiſſioner*; and ſo cauſed read the Act for the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion. I anſwered, I never knew all former Laws, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion were there reſcinded before; but however I could not juſtifie the Act, and durſt not comply with it, IN SO FAR AS, to own the King's Lawful Authority ſimply; for if I ſhould ſay as they would have me, I might be interpreted to juſtifie that Act, which I cannot do. Then they called me *obſtinate*; and many hard Names, and commanded me to the Pannel. I almoſt forgot about the Oath of Abjuration, how it was toſſed, ſcarce worth the repeating. I remember, I told them, I could never conſent to juſtifie their Severity againſt *Conſcientious Recuſants* on that Head. I could not ſee in that *Declaration* any ſuch *Aſſertions of declaring ſuch and ſuch a War againſt the King, and that it was lawful to kill all in his Service imployed under him*. I am averſe from all Oaths publickly impoſed by Authority. They urged, *I ſhould take it only IN SO FAR AS it declares*, &c. I anſwered, SO FAR AS, is becauſe it declares, *&c.* which I cannot ſee it does, and ſo I ſhould ſwear a Lie, which I durſt not do. They ſaid, *I ſaw further than they*. Then I anſwered, I would not ſay ſo; but only I could not ſee ſo far; But I muſt ſee before *I ſwear*; and further I told them, I would ſwear none at all The Advocate asked, *If I would ſign it*? I anſwered, I had torn my Subſcription from it already, I would not ſign it again. Then ſome propoſed, that they perceived, *I only ſticked at a meer nice Metaphyſical Quibble about the Senſe of the Words* IN SO FAR AS, and overtured, *That it may be written*, IF SO BE, *inſtead of* IN SO FAR

FAR AS. I told them, I would disown it then, as I had done already in Effect, in the Paper I had delivered in to them; but this they would not grant at that Time. I had almost forgot a Passage about the Authority, one proposed a Question, *What I thought of that Article of the Confession of Faith, affirming, That Infidelity or Difference in Religion doth not make void*, &c. I answered, I thought it very sound Doctrine, it did not make void where it was lawfully invested; but it might incapacitate a Person from Authority; and so if K. *James* had been King before he was a *Roman* Catholick, I should not have quarrelled it: But their Lordships knew it was not so. Many other things passed at this Examination, that I cannot particularly rehearse; but at length with Frowns and Threatenings I was put in the Pannel.

The last CONFERENCE.

I Remain'd in the Pannel, a while alone before the rest of my Fellow Criminals were called, the Lords speaking together among themselves. In the mean Time, when the other Pannels were called, they began to examine them one by one. Then read the *Indictment*; then when it came to me, they asked, *What I had to say now; for these things needed no Probation against me?* I enquired, if I might have the Allowance of Advocates to plead for me, and to clear the Lybel's Irrelevancy. *Sir* George M'kenzie *offered, that I might have whom I pleased, and asked whom I had engaged?* I answered, I had engaged none, because I heard none would be admitted without the Council's Warrant, which I thought was very hard; being it seemed, they had determined to take away my Life before Hand; because they will not allow any to plead its Defences: But now said I, seing my Lord Advocate hath offered the Priviledge, I solemnly invite any Advocate, to plead the Law in my Case, and not suffer me to be destroyed, because of my Ignorance of the Law, pointing, when I spoke this, to Sir *William Paterson*, and others sitting with him: And when none of them would answer, I said, It's hard, that Mens Lives should be so little valued; and that hence it might be observed, That if any Man, tho' never so innocent, were audaciously accused of Treason, then if he were a poor Man of mean Parts, and ignorant of the Law, as I am, he could not be sure of his Life; for it's easie to take it away, when all Means of Defence are taken away. When I had said this, two Advocates came to me, & told me quietly, *That no Advocate in* Scotland *would take it in Hand, or could plead any Legal Defences in my Case, the Matter was so clear against me.* I told them, If they had said, They would not, I durst believe it; but that they could not, I will never believe. Then I cried to the *Justice General*, craving leave to enquire, what Law they would found the Articles of my Indictment upon. The Advocate said, *The Laws were mentioned in the Indictment, and in the first Place, that Act* 2. Sess. 2. Par. 1. K. Ch. 2. A Part whereof was read, *Declaring these Positions mentioned in the Lybel to infer the Crime of Treason, and to be punished with Forfaulter and Loss of Life, Lands and Goods.* I replied, I cannot be convicted of the Breach of that Law. It was answered, *I had declared such things before the Lords, of which they were both Judges and Witnesses; and now they would know whether I owned such things or not.* I answered, That is not the Question now, whether I own them or not; but what I have done already, I humbly conceive was only a Declaration of my Thoughts of things before your Lordships, and not such a maintaining of Positions, as that Act condemns; for your Lordships can not say, *I infused them into*,

or maintained them before the People, as the Act bears; and because no such Fruits and Effects can be fastened upon any thing I have done, or said in Pursuance of them, as are there in that Act specified, they were only my Thoughts *declared*, and not *Positions maliciously and obstinatly maintained*, as the Act qualifies them, but only given, and extorted for your Lordships Satisfaction. It's a sore Matter to be threatened for declining our Thoughts, and then indicted for telling them. The Justice General asked, *When was I threatened for that?* I answered, My Lords, I have been threatened every Time I appeared before your Lordships; and I took that for a threatening, when you told me *the Law would make me do it*. The Times are very hard, when not only for a *Word a Man is made an Offender*, but also for *Thoughts*, and these extorted too. The Advocate said, *They would not so much insist on these common Positions with me, as the other Things incumbent upon all Subjects*, viz. *I declined to own the King's Authority, and to abjure the Declaration*. I demanded against what publick enacted Law, or Act of Parliament I had offended? He said, *Against all Law, and the Law of Nature and Nations, before there were any Acts of Parliament, by which every Subject is obliged to own the Authority he lives under*. I answered, That I granted it might be so by the Common Law, that publick disowning of the King's, or State's Authority might be very offensive; but I never heard a Law, That every one should positively own it, and declare his Conscience about it, when it is imposed. Then the Clerk was ordered to read the Act of Parliament (I forgot the Number) for the Duke of *York*'s Succession: Which done, I replied, That neither could it be made out, that I had transgessed that Act; because there it only is declared, That he is Rightful and Lineal Successor, and Apparent Heir, and that none should disown, or oppose, or suspend him, from the Stile, Honour or Kingly Name of the *Imperial Crown* of this Realm, which I never did; but on the contrary, did own his *Legal* and *Lineal Succession*, and his Authority IN SO FAR AS, I was obliged to all the Duties of a Christian Subjection: And further, I required to know what was the Duty required in that Act, as it concerned every private Man. It was replied, *That I and every one must own him to be our Lawful King & Soveriegn*. I answered, I could not conceive it so, for that is only the *Recognition* and *Declaration* of them that made the Act, and not the Duty enjoined to every Subject; for all that's required of them in the Act, is not to *disown oppose or suspend*, &c. And it must needs be so, for had I any Vote in that Parliament, or must I now give my *Suffarge* or Consent to it, or signifie my Conscientious Approbation of it? No: That I cannot do, nor is it incumbent, be it lawfully done or unlawfully, what can be charged against me, if I do not disobey it, or oppose it; let the King's Authority be lawful or unlawful, if I own Subjection, and cannot be charged with Treason, Rebellion or Disobedience, what have I more to do; but now I must plainly declare before this Court, That I cannot justifie that Act. Replied, *There's no Justification of it required of your Hand, but only to acknowledge K. James the 7 to be lawful King*. I answered, My Lords, you know from what I have said already, that I could say so much, but only I would have it understood in what Sense I say it. Said they, *You must subscribe it*. I demurred that, and said several Things about it; and so they left it, and came to the Abjuration next, affirming, *I was indicted there for owning, at least refusing to disown, that pretended Declaration, IN SO FAR AS, it declares*, &c.

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and asked me, *What I had to say to that?* I answered, That I would not dispute any Word about it, I had given in a Paper declaring my Sentiments about the Matter said to be contained in it; in repeating which I took all Auditors and Spectators Witness, *That I Disowned all such War as I had qualified it in my Paper, and disowned and abhorred all Murders and Sinful Assassinations*; And said that I thought that might satisfie all Law, and demanded what Law therein I Transgressed. It was replyed. *I had Transgressed the Proclamation, the Common Law and Practique of the House as it was now Ratified and Confirmed by the 23d Act of his Majesty's current Parliament*, I answered, I had once satisfied that Law already in taking that Oath, and Reason would say that were enough, however I resented it afterwards: The Law saith not that a Man shall not repent of it, but now I am Indicted for not having satisfied my self. What could I help that? They Replyed, *I should have held my Tongue of that, for that was the Aggravation of my Crime, that I tore my Name from the Paper.* I answered, That could be no Aggravation of it, which was done in Obedience to their Command; And when their Lordships *said, they would account me Disingenuous and Treacherous, if I did it not.* Well said they, *we will pass from that, if you will only Subscribe your Name by the Place where you tore it off.* I answered, I could not do that. Then they left off speaking to me: And after a while Pausing, wherein I put up Ejaculations to the LORD for Light and Resolution, at length I required a Sight of that 23d Act of *Parliament* which they said *was made particularly for me, and upon my Account*, which they gave me to read, and when I had read it, I found there was no Oath required, but only disowning that *pretended Declaration, IN SO FAR AS it declares*, &c. Then I spake to the *Justice-General*, that I humbly conceived it could not be made appear that I had Transgressed that Act neither; for here said I, there is no Obligation to take any Oath, which I only have refused, I have not refused to disown the Matter that you fasten upon that *Declaration*. There are many ways of disowning without Oaths. I do disown my having any Hand in that Declaration, or being Art or Part in it, and I will disown these things that are said to be asserted in that Declaration, IF SO BE, they be in it; tho' I think, I could make it appear it is Misrepresented. I did not hear what was replyed to this, only I remember, the *Advocate* argued, *That by disowning there, in that Act, must be meant Abjuring, from a Clause in the Conclusion of it, which doth ratifie and approve all Processes laid or to be laid, according to the Practique of the House in that Matter*; which, said he, *was always by Swearing, or refusing to Swear.* To which I answered, that it did not follow, because the Act did approve what has been done in that Affair, that therefore it doth enjoyn what shall be. There was much tuggling about this Imposition of Oaths; for I told them, I was against all Imposition of *Publick Oaths* of that Nature, upon such Pains and Penalties, whatever the Matter of them was; and for this I had the Opinion of many Learned and Famous reformed Protestant Divines, and abundance of Reason too, because such Oaths could not be taken with *Deliberation*; because not with Voluntary choise. It inferred Violence done to the Light of a Man's Conscience, which is the only *Repository* of an Oath's binding Force. It could not be taken, *in Truth, Righte-*

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